STUDIES IN THE PROSE TEXTS OF THE BEOWULF MANUSCRIPT

by

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Knowledge is proud that he has learn'd so much;
Wisdom is humble that he knows no more.

Cowper, The Task

PREFACE

It is almost fifty years since the publication of Three Old English Prose Texts in MS. Cotton Vitellius A XV by Stanley Israel Rypins. In 1953 Dr Kenneth Sisam made a masterly study of the three works in his Studies in the History of Old English Literature, which is still the only place where wide scholarship and scrupulous attention have been brought to bear on the whole subject. Sisam's essay was the first inspiration for my thesis, and my debt to him is indeed great. I have attempted to assess the three works, The Life of Saint Christopher, The Wonders of the East, and the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle, in a comprehensive manner. Each of them is a translation from Latin, and each presents its individual problems of transmission and its own characteristics of aim, style, and literary setting. I have not forgotten that these works are but a part of a greater whole, the entire manuscript,which, mutilated though it is, is a source of endless fascination and inquiry.

A large amount of material assembled in preparation has been omitted, as of secondary interest, yet nothing which may directly extend our understanding of the three works has been disregarded, and I place some importance on the collection and synthesis of much widely scattered material, some of which is unpublished. The last printed edition of The Wonders of the East based upon this manuscript and Cotton Tiberius B V appeared as a Greifswald dissertation in 1906, since when a second copy of the Latin source and an Old French version have been brought to light, and much has been written upon related works. It was therefore thought essential to include a new edition of the Wonders here.

The thesis has been written without collaboration, and yet I shall always feel the keenest obligation to those scholars, Max Förster, M.R.James, and Kenneth Sisam, whose explorations have often made my own path the straighter. To my supervisor, Professor Peter Clemoes, I owe a special

debt for his constant patience and encouragement during the past four years; more than once his detached but sympathetic perception has enabled me to untangle myself from a skein of ravelled problems. I cannot adequately express my gratitude to the members of my family whose memory or presence has helped me to bear trials of quite another kind.

C O N T E N T S

CHAPTER ONE : THE MANUSCRIPT

The Manuscript To-day

The volume Cotton Vitellius A XV in the British Museum comprises two medieval manuscripts bound together at least as early as the seventeenth century. To avoid confusion, which has been common, the first manuscript has recently been called the Southwick Codex, and the second the Nowell Codex after their first known owners. The Nowell Codex is more familiar to Old English scholars as the Beowulf Manuscript, and it may be doubted that the new title bestowed upon it by Professor Malone will find general acceptance[1]. This manuscript (ff. 94-209 of the composite volume) is in two hands both belonging to the period c.1000. The original gatherings cannot now be ascertained precisely and there is disagreement about what they were. I follow Malone whose account in the Nowell Codex (Copenhagen, 1963) pp. 14-16 is the most satisfactory. The manuscript contains,

(I) Quires 1-13, ff. 94-201.

a) ff. 94r-98r. A prose Life of Saint Christopher of which only the end remains. A related version in Cotton Otho B X was destroyed, save for a part of one leaf, in the Cotton fire of 1731.

b) ff. 98v-106v. A prose text known as The Wonders of the East (earlier as De Rebus in Oriente Mirabilibus or The Marvels of the East), with crude illustrations. In Cotton Tiberius B V (ff. 78v-86v) a second English version accompanies a Latin version, section by section; the illustrations are different. Manuscript 614 (ff. 36r-51v) in the Bodleian has a second version of the Latin, with additions, and the same series of pictures as Tiberius.

c) ff. 107r-131v. The Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle, a unique prose translation of the Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem.

d) ff. 132r-201v. The poem Beowulf in 3182 metrical lines.

(II) Quire 14, ff. 202r-209v.

e) The concluding fragment of the poem Judith in 350 metrical lines.

The first scribe wrote as far as f. 175v/4 (Beowulf l.1939) where the second began with the word 'moste'. As Sievers noted in 1872 he finished the poem and also wrote the surviving part of Judith which fills the last quire.

Ownership and Use before Thorkelin

Only the most fortunate discovery of external evidence could reveal to us the exact place where the manuscript originated almost a thousand years ago, and the precise circumstances of its making. But internal evidence and a comparison of the prose texts with related manuscripts (Otho B X, Tiberius B V, Bodley 614) enable us to determine much about the transmission of the pieces now represented by the Vitellius collection. Such matters will be dealt with in later chapters; my immediate concern here is with the vicissitudes that have befallen the manuscript since c.1000, and with the results of the intense investigation it has undergone in modern times. We have to do with a handful of incontrovertible facts, some plausible deductions, and much controversial speculation.

The manuscript was not entirely neglected in the later Middle Ages, as J. A. Leake has shown in her 'Middle English Glosses in the Beowulf-Codex'. (MLQ XXIII, 1962, 229-232). On f.102v almost a score of words have interlinear modernised forms above them, made by two writers[2], whose interest seems to have been only casual and their understanding limited, since they confine themselves to easy forms such as 'brestum', 'lange', 'on' and 'fiftiges'. Despite the scantiness of the evidence the hands can be dated in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries, and such glosses as have a distinctive dialect colouring 'point away from the North' to the South or South Midlands, where, Professor Leake believes, 'a West Saxon compilation would most likely be available'. On this last judgement we must reserve comment. Since she was using an imperfect facsimile she was unable to make a considered assessment of the words at the foot of f.101v. They are catchwords, corresponding, though not exactly, with the first words of the next page. As the writer imitated the Anglo-Saxon script it is hard to say when they were put there, but there is no reason to assign them to the Middle English period. It is more likely that they were written in the seventeenth century or later when, thanks to Cotton's binder, f.102r did not follow f.101v.

The first known owner of the manuscript was Laurence Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, (c.1520-76), whose name and the date 1563 appear at the top of the very first page of the manuscript, proving that Christopher came first, and that it was already defective[3]. Nowell is remembered as a pioneer in the revival of Anglo-Saxon studies, who had ample opportunity to acquire old documents by virtue of his position in the Church. Doubtless 1563 was when Nowell first received the manuscript, and we know that at the time he was a tutor to the Earl of Oxford and a member of Convocation in London. It is not likely that the manuscript had passed through many hands in the dispersion of old books afterthe Dissolution, but nothing definite can be said of how Nowell came by it[4]. Aside from his mark of ownership, moreover, he seems to have confined his attention to a single gloss (on 'egsode') on the sixth line of the text of Beowulf. Marckwardt's account of the sources of Nowell's Old English dictionary (Studies in Philology XLV, 1948, 21-36) makes no mention of the prose texts, and it is said that the dictionary has nothing to point to Beowulf or Judith (p. 35). My own check of the prose texts confirms that Nowell did not use them.

About sixty years later the Beowulf Manuscript had passed into the keeping of Sir Robert Cotton, whose library was the envy of his contemporaries as it is of modern scholars. John Aubrey, when writing of his grandfather's days, aptly remarks that 'the manuscripts flew about like butterflies'. He might have added that there were a dozen or more serious collectors who had their nets out for them. And so we do not know for certain how Cotton, who like many of his contemporaries was a buyer, borrower(and occasionally, if the word may be permitted, a thief) came by the Vitellius manuscript. The likeliest route is via William Lambarde (died 1601) to whom Nowell, for an unknown reason, presented his manuscript collection in 1567[5]. There need have been no other intermediary, for Cotton began collecting while still in his teens and was thirty when Lambarde died.

There are various catalogues of the Cotton collection, and the first, drawn up in 1621 (now MS. Harley 6018) lists more than four hundred items. We cannot be certain that our manuscript was among them, for the all-revealing Roman shelf-marks had not yet been devised. Neil Ker, however, assumes that the manuscript was in the library by then (see his Catalogue, p. lv), and at all events it must have been there soon afterwards, for a list of contents prefacing the composite volume was made by Richard James, Cotton's librarian from c.1625 until his death in 1638.

Presumably it was at this period also that the 'Southwick' and 'Nowell' codices were first yoked together. Cotton used methods which to the modern mind are anathema. As Dr. Ker remarks 'he separated manuscripts which belonged together and directed his binder to put unrelated manuscripts within the same cover. Everything he had seems to have been rebound by him' (Catalogue p. liv).

When Sir Robert's grandson presented the library to the nation it saw several removes of place before the calamitous fire at Ashburnham House in 1731 decimated the collection. Vitellius A XV was not burnt, but badly scorched about the edges, and with time and successive handling it began to crumble away, so that a hundred years ago it became necessary to preserve the leaves separately and to protect the margins with a thin opaque paper. Many letters and often entire words at the top and on the fore-edge have been lost or survive only in a distorted state. The Manuscript was inaccurately described by Thomas Smith in his catalogue of the Cotton collection (1696) and in an exemplary manner by Humfrey Wanley less than ten years later[6]. Wanley's account is an authority in itself since it was drawn up more than twenty-five years before the fire, and the description in Joseph Planta's catalogue of 1802 is inferior to it. Of the history of the manuscript since the seventeenth century no more need be said.

Modern Study since 1815

The poem Beowulf, the most important early literary monument surviving in the Germanic languages, has been more studied since the beginning of the last century than the rest of Old English literature put together. Indeed theses are now written on 'The History of Beowulf Scholarship', and the poem dominates its own period much as Chaucer and Shakespeare do their own. One of the faults of the older scholars was a tendency to neglect the primary source, the manuscript, once a printed edition was set before them, and one of the most signal advances of the past fifty years has been a return to the real source with eyes undimmed by too great a concentration upon secondary studies. When it is remembered that after Thorkelin's editio princeps of 1815 the poem began to monopolise the attention of scholars both here and abroad, particularly in Germany, it is not to be wondered at that the prose pieces which precede it were neglected. The prose texts were little regarded, and their nineteenth century editors studied them as isolated pieces without,

it would seem, ever realising that one hand had copied them all, and also part of Beowulf. As a result the most erroneous and widely differing dates were given to them[7]. Although, according to Max Förster, Sievers recognised as early as 1871 that the three prose texts and the first part of Beowulf were copied by the same scribe, he did not make this information known, and his notes have since disappeared. Perhaps he overlooked its implications, as Sedgefield did in 1913 when he wrote in the introduction to his edition of Beowulf (p. xiv note) 'that the first scribe also wrote the MS. immediately preceding the Beowulf MS. in the codex'. These preceding items do not of course form a distinct manuscript, but Sedgefield had the main point, which, it may be said once for all, had escaped the notice of all the several editors of the prose texts before that time.

The discovery that Christopher, The Wonders and Alexander's Letter must have been composed by the year 1000 and that the accepted verdicts regarding Old English literary history would have to be revised, was announced by Kenneth Sisam in a brief but significant paper of 1916, which ought finally to have dispelled the current misconceptions about those texts[8]. They survived, however, in general histories for another thirty years, and were probably only finally removed by the impact of Sisam's Studies in the History of Old English Literature (1953). Since 1916 there have appeared five technical studies of the Beowulf Manuscript in which the prose texts have received the treatment due to them. The original form of the gatherings, which was obliterated when the manuscript was dismembered to prevent further damage, has been reconstructed from the evidence of foliation, ruling and the arrangement of hair of flesh sides, but all the accounts differ. The occurrence of capital letters, abbreviations, accents and points have been minutely catalogued, and, in short, so much has been written in detail which it is impossible to repeat or to extend here, that an assessment of these secondary sources will be of more service than an imperfect repetition of the information they contain.

Before the Great War, Max Förster prepared a detailed account of Cotton Vitellius A XV, and it was finally published in 1919 as Die Beowulf-Handschrift (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, LXXI, Part 4). His careful analysis of the handwriting of the two scribes responsible for the manuscript shows the identity of the hand throughout the prose works and the first part of

Beowulf, and it was made quite independently of Sisam. Förster's thorough description remains the standard one: it is only to be regretted that it is generally inaccessible. Inevitably minor inaccuracies were detected by reviewers and later researchers, who also supplemented the work with yet more minute information and tabular lists. These books, in order of publication are :

Stanley Rypins, Three Old English Prose Texts (E.E.T.S. O.S. 161, 1924 for 1921), written in ignorance of Förster.

E. V. K. Dobbie, Beowulf and Judith (Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 4, 1953).

N. R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon 1957.

Kemp Malone, The Nowell Codex (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, XII, Copenhagen, 1963).

As the work of Rypins and Malone is especially full, I shall first give an indication of its nature and scope, before dealing with the core of positive fact which places the three prose texts in their proper perspective as part of a larger compilation. Stanley Rypins' book remains the most accessible, and the only place where all three pieces are printed together. Almost all the material of the Introduction had appeared in periodicals from 1917 onwards after Rypins had undertaken a study of the texts on Kenneth Sisam's recommendation. It contains a brief description of the manuscript (much shorter than Förster's of which the author was unaware), an extensive treatise on the respective merits of the two scribes as copyists, and bibliographical information. In his theory of the relative accuracy of the two scribes Rypins violently assailed the opinion, first formulated by Ten Brink, that the second scribe was more faithful to his exemplar(s) than the first, and he reached quite the opposite conclusion. A good deal of ink was spilt over this question after 1924, but no clear-cut result emerged, and all that need be said is that a number of eminent scholars took issue with Rypins, while none supported him. I do not intend to reopen a controversy that has lain dormant for forty years now, and about which it may be fairly doubted that one can ever devise more than a series of profitless speculations. As we do not know with any exactitude what was in the exemplars nothing definite can be proved, while the possibilities are many, 'however laboriously its [the manuscript's] forms are counted and tabulated'. (E. V. Gordon, The Year's Work 1924, p. 67). Rypins'

discussion of Alexander's Letter made new contributions to the enumerating of the Latin texts of the Epistola, and to Old English lexicography.

The texts are printed in reverse order (i.e. Letter, Wonders, Christopher) perhaps presumably because Rypins rated them thus according to their intrinsic merit and interest[9]. A page of the book corresponds with a page of the MS and there is an attempt to reproduce (as far as was typographically feasible) the appearance of the manuscript. The defective margins have been scrutinised with the utmost care, damaged letters being given in italics and supplied letters being placed after a square bracket. The readings of the earlier editors are recorded at the foot of the pages. After the Old English texts come Latin versions of the Epistola (MS CCC Oxford 82) the Wonders (Tiberius B V) and Christopher (Acta Sanctorum). There are four pages of notes and a full analytical glossary.

Rypins' Three Prose Texts is a model of thoroughness, so far as the text is concerned, yet I doubt that more than a handful of scholars have read it in its entirety, and it has never been reprinted as many other issues of the EETS have been. The reason is not far to seek: the editor's claim in his Preface that attention 'has been centred on the task of producing an edition which, from a textual standpoint, might be considered authoritative', does not absolve him from the responsibility of making the texts intelligible, or at least readable[10]. But the style of a diplomatic edition (with a bare handful of emendations) is neither necessary nor desirable for these texts, as it may be for Beowulf, and it is foreign to the usual approach adopted by the directors of the EETS. Moreover, the sparseness of the notes, with much obsolete and unnecessary matter lifted from Cockayne's edition of 1861, is most unsatisfactory. Hence none but the most faithful student of Old English would prefer Rypins' book to the earlier editions, despite their textual deficiencies, for in them the strain on his patience is less and his reading pleasure more assured. It is impossible, even for one who owes much to Rypins, not to feel that his energies were rather misdirected, and that the elucidation of the three pieces still remains a desideratum. For further remarks of a far more severe nature E. V. Gordon's long and thoughtful review in The Year's Work for 1924(pp. 66-72) should be consulted: here I shall only echo his accusation that Rypins fails to collate the Old English and Latin intelligently, that he largely neglects the other text of the Wonders in Cotton Tiberius B V, although it is an indispensable check against the corruptions of Vitellius, and that he 'solemnly' glosses

words in sentences which are patent nonsense as they stand. Rypins had a laudable regard for his manuscript, but was so concerned with mechanical accuracy that it became a fetish demanding the suppression of common sense.

Professor Malone has recently scrutinised the whole manuscript for his introduction to the facsimile edition of 1963. The tabular information on the three vexatious foliations, which have been a source of much confusion and error down the years is most welcome[11], and the enumeration of such features of the text as capitals and accents is exhaustive (even if one is left wondering just what should be done with such information). The greater part of his very long introduction (pp. 32-113) comprises a leaf by leaf account of damaged, destroyed and restored readings, which, with the accompanying photographs of the highest quality, almost renders work upon the prose texts and Judith the armchair affair it has been for Beowulf since Zupitza produced his autotypes nearly ninety years ago. It was the hope of one of Malone's reviewers that 'the new accessibility of this manuscript will direct increased attention to the important but sometimes neglected prose works that appear with the poems'[12], and the present study has been made easier in many respects by the existence of the book.

The Original Manuscript

Notwithstanding the painstaking and erudite accounts of the manuscript from Förster's to Malone's, it has by no means yielded up all its secrets. It could scarcely be otherwise when we remember that it has been defective since the sixteenth century at the latest, and that no record was kept of the gatherings when they were dismembered in the nineteenth century. It is only right to ask what the manuscript was like when it was completed by the two scribes about the year 1000, but the answer cannot be simple or dogmatic.

It used to be assumed that the second scribe, having completed Beowulf, carried on with Judith. Then, some time later, the first leaves of Judith were lost, while the remnant stayed immediately adjacent to Beowulf. Förster thought that the end of Beowulf might also have been lost, but no one has subscribed to this view[13]. Nevertheless, this tidy explanation has been upturned recently by Neil Ker's noticing a pattern of wormholes on ff. 192-201 (where Beowulf ends) which is not on ff. 202-209. Moreover, the last leaf of Beowulf is in a very dilapidated state[14].

Accordingly Ker concludes that Beowulf was once at the end of the manuscript and was not followed by Judith, which must originally have come before the prost texts, 'or have been shifted from the end to some other position before the worm got to work on ff. 192-201'. It could be said that Judith did follow Beowulf, that it was moved, and then replaced in that position; such a solution, to say the least, would be unconvincing. The simplest explanation is that Judith originally preceded Christopher, and that it was placed after Beowulf later. This must have happened before Nowell owned the manuscript. I take the loss of most of Christopher before 1563 and the wormholes as an indication that the manuscript had not been well cared for, and had indeed become barely more than a pile of loose gatherings. Malone's explanation of what happened to Judith is decidedly far-fetched: he believes that Beowulf ended the original manuscript and that Judith was added later 'perhaps hundreds of years later', by Nowell or an earlier owner, 'because the Judith fragment was obviously written by the scribe who wrote Beowulf 1940-3182' (p. 17, cf. p. 119)[15]. Is not this incredible? If the identity of the second hand in the two poems was not recognised until Sievers saw it in 1872, after the manuscript had passed under the eyes of many scholars, there is no reason to imagine it was recognised by Nowell or a former owner. In the later middle ages, assuming the manuscript to be a religious house, an 'earlier owner' would hardly be troubled with a tongue he could not understand, and all our evidence shows he would not have hesitated to cut the manuscript up for binding. The Tudor and Stuart antiquaries were certainly zealous, yet they had little time for paleographic niceties, being overburdened with the attempt to construe the meaning of their old English collections.

We are left with a hypothetical original composed thus :
x quires + Judith + x quires + Christopher + Wonders + Letter + Beowulf.
There is nothing improbable about the unknown quantities marked 'x', for the manuscript to-day is not bulky, nor would it have been had it once been half as long again. Nor is there anything very exceptional about the sequence of writing demanded by my scheme, by which the two men wrote alternately to complete the whole manuscript. They may have worked simultaneously at times, but this is rare in Old English MSS (see Ker, 32 and 239 article 5) and we have no indication of it here. There are, however, many MSS upon which two or more scribes have been employed alternately (e.g. Ker, 21, 142, 257, 324).

Judith presents various problems which merit attention. If my interpretation of them is right they only confirm what has been written above. The poem occupies a quire and comprises the end of a section followed by three sections numbered X, XI and XII. Section XII ends at the foot of f. 209v where the final lines were added, apparently in the period c. 1600-1630 by a writer imitating the old script[16]. This almost certainly happened when the manuscript was in Cotton's possession, perhaps while it was being bound, and at the time there must have been a further leaf, f. 210* which the writer presumably discarded[17]. This leaf (or sheet?) proves that Judith is now incomplete at the end, although of course the words of the ending are there. The few lines of the poem on f. 210* would occupy little space, leaving at least a side and a half clean. It is possible that a new work began at the top of f.210v*. From the lay-out of the complete pieces in the manuscript (Wonders, Letter, Beowulf) it can be deduced that a new work was begun at the top of a new page. Hence there are blank lines at the end of Christopher, Wonders, and Alexander's Letter[18]. It is a fair inference that in their complete states both Christopher and Judith started at the top of a fresh page.

Turning to the beginning of the surviving fragment of Judith, we find that the first parts were already lost by the seventeenth century. When Junius transcribed the poem (see manuscript Junius 105 in the Bodleian) in the period 1621-1651[19] he had only the text that now exists, although it was as yet undamaged by fire. The old view, which still appears the most tenable to me, is that since Judith is a versified rendering of the book of the same name in the Apocrypha, a comparison of the extant English with its Latin source should tell us approximately how much of the poem is now missing. Förster estimates a loss of about 950-1000 lines, and though Dobbie has shown the poet to be somewhat free in his treatment he comes to substantially the same conclusion, as do Ker and Malone[20]. By this reckoning three quarters of Judith are lost. Against this consensus of opinion, however, Rosemary Woolf has argued in her paper 'The Lost Opening to "Judith".' MLR L, 1955, 168-172. She believes that 'the prima facie case of those who suppose that over eight sectional divisions have been lost does not rest on secure foundation, and that the opposite view is, at least, equally tenable.' (p. 172). There is no need for a detailed examination of her exposition, which is partly aesthetic and partly technical: I remain unconvinced, thinking the older opinion is more probably right. At the same time Miss Woolf has raised an issue of importance, namely the validity of the numbering

of sections in Old English poetical manuscripts. She points out that in the Junius Manuscript the first three poems, Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel are numbered in sequence from 1 to 55, and that the scribe was capable of disregarding what are obviously separate compositions. Hence the possibility must be admitted that in an earlier manuscript than Vitellius A XV 'Judith had succeeded a poem that was numbered up to eight, and that this sequence had been continued in it. A scribe copying the poem, once its beginning was lost, would, of course automatically repeat the numbers before him, without realizing that an adjustment was necessary.' (p. 170). Equally, it could be said that Judith in its complete state began with section seven, or six, and so on: there are numerous alternative explanations of why, as it seems, the better part of nine sections is missing[21]. Malone makes no mention of her article, but Miss Woolf had been anticipated by Förster, who, however, did not reach the same conclusion. In Die Beowulf-Handschrift (pp. 84-89) he examines the numbering of fitts, notes the sequence of numbers in the poems of the Junius Manuscript, and concludes 'dass die Durchzählung der Fitten für die Frage der Einheitlichkeit altenglischer Dichtungen nichts bedeutet.' (p. 86 note 1).

To go further involves one in guesswork. I conceive that Judith remained intact for a long while, as the first page of what remains is fairly clean. That it did not become grubby is perhaps an indication that it was moved to its present position at the same time as, or soon after, the preceding leaves came adrift and were lost. How much has been lost from the original manuscript we shall never know, but there have been losses before and after Judith and before Christopher, as these pieces now exist. It is possible that only the leaves which would complete these two have gone, but I hope to have shown that it is no less possible that other items, perhaps other prose texts, were once included in the manuscript.

Not one of the five pieces is in the autograph of its translator, or, in the case of the two poems, its author. Each had an independent pre-history before it was taken into the present compilation. Sisam's analysis of the language of Alexander's Letter and Beowulf, which are adjacent in the manuscript, leads him to postulate that they shared some common transmission before it was written (Studies p. 94). Such matters, however, do not strictly belong to the physical aspects of the manuscript with which we have chiefly been concerned, and I shall not anticipate the final conclusions regarding the manuscript as

a whole, since they must follow a close investigation of each of the three prose texts.

1. It is too early to tell if the name will become common. Norman Davis has objected to this novel term for a manuscript 'which has so long been familiarly known by the name of the most famous work in all Old English literature', RES N.S. XVI, 1965, 410.

2. Professor Leake recognises only one hand, but there are certainly two; the first is found over lines 2-10 and the second over lines 11 and 12.

3. From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century Nowell's name was hidden in the first quire whose sheets had been jumbled by Cotton's binder. But Wanley noticed it.

4. For some tantalising speculations, arising from the fact that Nowell transcribed the only other MS with Old English texts known to have come from Southwick, as the first part of Vitellius A XV did, see Sisam, Studies, p. 62, note 3.

5. The circumstantial evidence is strong, but stops short of actual proof. I do not know what authority, if any, Professor Marckwardt has to write 'It is well known that MS. Cotton Vitellius A 15 containing the text of Beowulf, was for a time in Nowell's possession, and that, like most [sic] of his papers, it passed from him to Lambarde, and then to Sir Robert Cotton.' Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum Ann Arbor, 1952, p. 4.

6. In the celebrated Librorum Veterum Septentrionalium Catalogus. Max Förster, Die Beowulf-Handschrift 1919, gives a detailed history of the MS since Cotton's time (pp. 58 ff.) and conveniently quotes the descriptions by James, Smith and Wanley (pp. 66-72).

7. See, for example, the quotations assembled by Sisam (MLR XI, 1916 = Studies pp. 62-63, and by Förster, Die Beowulf-Handschrift 1919, pp. 43-45.

8. MLR XI, 1916, 335-337, pp. 61-64 of the Studies.

9. Hoops, Englische Studien LXI, 1926-7, 435-6, thinks the order is determined by the length of each.

10. For reviews of Rypins see the Bibliography. Only those of Gordon, Hoops and Ekwall assess the whole book. On the unreadability of the text see Hoops p. 435 and Ekwall p. 49.

11. The first foliation dates from the eighteenth century, the second from about 1870 and the third 'official' foliation from 1884. I follow Rypins, Malone, and all recent scholars in adopting the last. For a vain plea by Hoops for the retention of the eighteenth century numbers see Englische Studien LXIII, 1928, 1-11. The intermediate foliation has been the cause of much confusion, and could conveniently be forgotten were it not that Förster used it.

12. L. D. Benson, Speculum XXXIX, 1964, 722.

13. Förster, p. 82; but cf. Sisam, Studies p. 65 note 2.

14. Wolfgang Keller's suggestion (Anglia Beiblatt XXXIV, 1923,5) that the final section of the poem from f. 182, which is also strangely worn and dirty, was especially popular among Anglo-Saxon readers who handled it separately, is altogether fanciful. In fairness to him, it should be said that he had doubts.

15. cf. Tilman Westphalen, Beowulf 3150-55 Munich, 1967, p. 31. He thinks that f. 201 served as the unprotected outer leaf of the manuscript, 'bis zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt (vielleicht erst unter Cotton) das Judith-fragment als Rest eines separaten Kodex aus demselben Skriptorium hinzugefügt wurde.'

16. Ker, Catalogue p. 282, 'a hand of s.xvi/xvii'; cf. Malone, p. 113

17. Dobbie, Beowulf and Judith p. xv takes the final gathering as ff. 202-209, 'to which was probably attached the single leaf, containing the end of JUDITH, which is missing after fol. 209.' He seems to assume that there was never more than one leaf.

18. The changes do not coincide, however, with the beginning of a fresh quire, whichever of the several explanations of the gatherings may be accepted.

19. It is difficult to be more precise. Junius was in England for these thirty years and did not return until 1674, when he was eighty five. The transcript can hardly be that of an old man (cf. Dobbie, p. xxii note 7), and a date during the first period is almost certain. It was after Cotton had introduced the new press marks, for Junius marked the transcript as from Vitellius A XV.

20. Förster, pp. 88-89, Ker, p. 282, Dobbie, pp. lix-lxii, Malone, p. 12.

21. Miss Woolf is mistaken, however, when she writes that 'the scribe of the Cotton Manuscript was presumably copying an incomplete text' (p. 170). There is nothing to warrant such an inference.

CHAPTER TWO : THE LIFE OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER

The Development of the Legend

When in the sixteenth century the veneration of the saints came to be examined unsympathetically, the reformers found in the story of St. Christopher no more than a fabulous symbolism. Yet they cannot but have been conscious of its hold upon the minds of the pious and superstitious, since Christopher had become the centre of a cult as popular as any in western Europe. He was numbered among the fourteen auxiliary saints, and held in especial regard as the patron of travellers. Such is the nature of medieval hagiography, however, that if the Anglo-Saxon translator of the Life could have returned at that time he would hardly have recognised the legend about the saint and the virtues commonly attributed to his intercession. The popularity of Christopher and the legend of his life most widely known were a late development, to be traced in a large part to the success of the Golden Legend (written 1255-66) and its vernacular successors. Jacobus' version gave final form to a story that had undergone many changes in almost a thousand years, and these changes must be known if we are to understand the relation of the Old English Life to its source[1]. The iconography of the forms of the legend has been recorded thoroughly, but there is no comprehensive treatment of its evolution in literature, for the material is vast, largely inedited, and in many languages. Nevertheless much has been done during the past century to illuminate certain aspects of the story, and all recent writers are indebted to the massive treatise by Hans Rosenfeld, Der Hl. Christophorus. Seine Verehrung und seine Legende (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora X,3,1937).

St. Christopher is said to have died in Lycia in Asia Minor under the emperor Decius about A.D. 250, yet modern students of the cult have, with a single exception[2], refused to allow even so little to pass as truth; two years ago the saint was formally removed from the liturgical kalendar by the Vatican. The argument, insofar as it depends upon whether the man was created from the name (etymologised as Christ-bearer or one borne by Christ) is endlessly turned upon itself. The first traces of the cult are found near Constantinople in the fifth century. The extant manuscripts of a Vita proper are later, but the

germ of the written records has been detected in the apocryphal Acts of Bartholomew, where the apostles are aided in their missionary work by a dog-headed creature called Christianus who himself suffers martyrdom, (see Rosenfeld, pp. 347 ff.). The early transformations of this gnostic story are lost and St. Christopher next appears as an independent figure, the hero of a tale in his own right. Accounts of him differ, but two major related versions of his life exist, an eastern one and a western one, the second principally in Latin manuscripts. But since both variants were known in western Europe, and language is no infallible guide, it has for long been customary to distinguish them as the 'Decius' and 'Dagnus' versions[3]. In the course of time a fair amount of intermingling took place. Finally during the twelfth century the legend was radically remodelled in western Europe: the account of Christopher's trial and passion was greatly abridged, while a whole new story of his earlier life evolved. He becomes a friendly giant, dog-headed no more, who searches for the worthiest master in the world, and, failing to find him in a king or in the devil, he becomes the servant of Christ who carries the infant - and all the weight of the world - across the swollen river. This pathetic narrative soon supplanted the earlier ones and became the basis for Christopher's supposed care of travellers and pilgrims. In eastern Europe and Russia the dog-headed martyr survived, only to have his story suppressed by the higher clergy as late as the eighteenth century[4].

The Old English translator whose work partially survives in the Vitellius manuscript was using a Latin text of the Dagnus version. In summary the complete story is this. At the time Dagnus ruled in Samo there was a man of the genus Canineorum, who was chosen by God that the pagans might believe. While he prayed, a cloud descended from heaven and a voice from heaven conferred baptism on him. After this he is known as Christopher. He enters Syria where he is seen by a woman who runs off to tell of the creature she has seen. When a crowd gathers and Christopher plants his staff which blossoms, many are converted. On Dagnus' orders he is arrested and brought for questioning. Christopher will not sacrifice to heathen gods, and as bribery is unavailing, two women are sent to seduce him, but are themselves converted and thereupon tortured to death. Christopher is upbraided for

his obstinacy, and there begins a series of tortures, flogging and burning, which leave the saint unharmed. Another attempt is made, this time with archers to shoot him, yet their arrows remain suspended in the air, until Dagnus approaches and is blinded by one of them. Christopher instructs him to apply a little of Christopher's blood in the name of Christ if he would be healed, and later, as he himself predicted, Christopher is slain and receives the crown of martyrdom. Thousands are converted, Dagnus' sight is restored and he accepts Christianity, ordering his entire people to do likewise. The writer of the legend adds a not uncommon touch when he concludes that Christopher prayed, among much else, for the good of those who should write and read his story.

The Vita belongs to a type that Delehaye has characterised as 'epic legend'. It is an accretion of hagiographic commonplaces, and the inquisition, the profitless torments, the ritual of prayer, death and wholesale conversions are conventional motifs of romantic hagiography. This story, like so many more, is 'un produit industriel'[5]. It is no surprise, in an area of derivation and almost mechanical composition, that the account of Christopher's sufferings was taken en bloc and attached to a far more obscure saint, Savinianus.

The Latin Texts

More then forty Latin copies of the Life have been recorded by the Bollandists, chiefly in Analecta Bollandiana, and from the catalogues of other collections it is plain that this number could well be doubled. The manuscripts date from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries, the majority being late. Few are printed, or indeed investigated, while nothing so sophisticated as a genealogy of manuscripts has been attempted, and on general principles modern students of hagiography will doubt whether the attempt would be meaningful, since the textual tradition is particularly unstable[6]. The Bollandists' precedent of distinguishing the manuscripts, by their incipits and explicits (in the Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina and its Supplementum Brussels, 1898-1911) is of very limited use for detailed work, and one

often finds cataloguers using their numbers with the caveat 'sed passim diversa verbis' or 'abundant lectiones variantes'[7]. Of the texts a small number deserves to be considered in connexion with the Old English fragment :

1. /F/ A twelfth century manuscript from Fulda printed in the Acta Sanctorum for July, volume 6, 146-9, and reproduced in illustration of the English by Einenkel and by Rypins (see below p. 21).

2. /W/ An eighth century manuscript, MP.TH.F.28 in the library of the University of Würzburg.

3. /T/ A manuscript c.800, originally from Corbie, now Turin National Library, D.V.3.

   These three were edited together by Rosenfeld, pp. 520-29.

4. /B/ An unprinted version of the early ninth century written at the episcopal scriptorium at St. Emmeram in Bavaria; now British Museum Add. 11,880. For an account of this manuscript, which I found from the B.M. Catalogue, see Bischoff's Die Südostdeutschen Schreibschulen Wiesbaden, 1960, p. 207. The part containing the Latin Christopher (ff. 89v-95r) was copied by a monk called Engyldeos about whom something is known.

No copy of English origin seems to have survived from so early a period, nor do I know of one before the late Middle Ages. The four manuscripts given here are fairly closely related, although it is not possible to draw a stemma for them. The text used by the Old English translator can be shown to have had much in common with them, while it was evidently not an exact copy or model of any of them. Its precise affiliations are irrecoverable, and in what follows it has had to be assumed that the translator was faithful to his exemplar. There is scarcely a phrase in the text printed from W by Rosenfeld, which is without variants from F and T, and the same is true when comparison is is made with B. Since it is impossible to deduce anything of significance from their constantly shifting affiliations or individual peculiarities, these may be ignored. When the English is set against them all, however, it is evident that the translation shares readings

with one or more of W, T, and B but not with F. The Vitellius fragment begins in the middle of a sentence (cf. Rosenfeld, p. 526 line 4 onwards) but the first lines of the translation are given in Wanley's description of manuscript Otho B X which contained a Life of St Christopher now almost wholly lost (see below, p.22). The incipit ran -

> Menn þa leofestan. on þære tide wæs geworden þe Dagnus se cync rixode on Samon þære ceastre. þæt sum man com on þa ceastre se wæs healf hundisces manncynnes: ac he ne cuðe nan þingc to þam lyfiendan gode ne his naman ne cigde. þa wæs him ætywed fram urum drihtne þæt he sceolde fulluhtè onfon. (Wanley, p. 191).

1. Only T and B mention Christopher's not knowing God: T like the English says nothing of his coming ab or de insula.

2. f.94r/2 dryhten. Dominum T B ; Deum verum W ; Dominum Jesum Christum F.

3. f.94r/8 cwædon to ðam cyninge. ad Dagnum T W ; B F omit.

4. f.94r/18 Like the English T B omit any mention of Christopher's being measured by workmen; Et venerunt artifices et tulerunt mensuram (corporis) ejus W F.

5. f.94r/20 þone halgan Cristoforus. Sanctum Christopherum T; eum W F B .

6. f.94v/6 Se halga Cristoforus. Sanctus Christopherus T ; Sanctus Dei W F ; Christoforus B .

7. f.95r/4 he him to cwæþ. dixit ad eum T ; dixit B ; dixit ad Famulum Dei W ; dixit sancto Christophoro F .

8. f.95r/19 se cyningc het. jussit rex T W ; jussit B F .

9. f.95v/4 þine goda ic laðette 7 him teonan do . Ego diis tuis abhominationem facio T B ; ...feci W F .

10. f.95v/12 oð þæt he wære acweald. ut...interficeretur T B W ; ut...interficeretur Famulus Dei F .

11. f.95v/14 Se cynyngc. rex T B W ; rex stultus F .

12. f.95v/17-18 on ðam winde hangigendæ æt þæs halgan mannes swyðran healfe. suspendebantur a vento a dextris ejus T ; ... a dextris atque sinistris ejus W F B .

13. f.96r/10 he him to cwæd . dixit ad eum T ; ait ei B ; dixit W F .

14. f.96r/14 þæt cristene men cumaþ. venient Christiani T B ; multi Christiani veniant W ; veniunt multi Christiani F.

15 f.96v/5-6 Þy mergenlican dæge ær þam þe he fram þam cempum acweald wære. ..antequam a ministris interficeretur...T; sed antequam decollaretur B ; Ommitted in W F .

16. f.97r/8 fram þam cempum he wæs slegen. a ministris interemptus est T ; interemptus est a ministris B; omitted in W F .

At this point W and F give the date of the martyrdom as 25 July; in T it is recorded at the end of the Vita. B and the English make no mention of any date.

17. f.97v/7 'Wuldorfæst ys 7 micel cristenra manna god..' Gloriosus es (for est ?) et magnus Deus Christianorum T ; Gloriosus et magnus est Deus Christianorum B ; Gloria tibi, Deus Christianorum W F .

It may seem that the Latin used by the translator was very close to T and B, but that would be a misinterpretation since there are instances in which it agreed with F and/or W against them, e.g. :

1. f.94r/2 þu ðe. qui W F ; quia T B .

2. f.94r/15 þine tintegro. tormenta tua F ; T B W omit.

3. f.94v/2 The English and F omit any mention of wood for the fire, though T B W have it.

4. f.94v/15 þone halgan Cristoforus. sanctum Christophorum W F; T B omit Sanctum.

5. f.95r/10 minne drihten hælende Crist. Dominum Jesum Christum F; Dominum T ; Deo W ; B omits.

6. f.96v/20 Christoforus min þeow. Christophore, famule meus F; T B omit famule meus; W omits entire speech.

7. f.97r/13 manna . hominum W F ; omitted in T B .

From all these readings it is clear that the text used by the translator was of mixed descent, and that in many places it probably had different readings from these four manuscripts. Very often one cannot deduce what the readings were in the Latin used by the translator.

The differences between the Latin texts are, however, not vitally important, for they indicate no essential changes in the story itself.

The Old English Translation

The text in Vitellius A XV was first edited by Herzfeld as 'Bruchstück Einer AE. Legende', Englische Studien XIII, 1889, 142-5. In 'Das Altenglische Christoforus-Fragment', Anglia XVII, 1895, 110-22, Eugen Einenkel printed the text line for line, adding the Latin of the Acta Sanctorum for comparison. Herzfeld had made a fair attempt to record the readings damaged by wear and fire, but this by no means satisfied Einenkel, who with an impressive array of brackets and notes on the manuscript, complained that he could not see much that Herzfeld had printed. The net gains are few and one cannot but feel that he was making heavy weather of an admittedly difficult task. Rypins, who edited the Life for the third time nearly thirty years later, quite lost his temper with Einenkel[8]; he was perhaps unaware of the acrimonious rivalry between the two journals under Kölbing and Wülker. Certainly Herzfeld's text is superior to Einenkel's and there the matter may rest.

Our knowledge of the translation rests on two texts, neither of which has survived in a complete state. The evidence of Otho B X is discussed below. The Vitellius copy has a number of errors and cruxes :

1. f.94r/6 fyrenne helm or an equivalent expression for igneam cassidem should be supplied after settan on his heafde.

2. f.94v/9-11. þas tintrego..... to þinre gecyndnesse 7 to þinre forwyrde becumaþ. Þinre gecyndnesse, 'of your race' is both awkward and unfaithful to the Latin. Following Herzfeld and Einenkel, Sisam would read gescyndnesse = confusion. This is the simplest and perhaps the best emendation, although it does not fully meet the sense in the Latin manuscripts where we find, in (tua F B) turpitudine et (in BWT) diis tuis. Even Mombritius[9], whom Rypins quotes (p. 108 note 3), has in tua erubescentia et confusione ac diis tuis retorquebuntur, and one looks for some equivalent for 'to your gods' in the translation. Is it possible that in diis was in some way misunderstood as a contraction by the translator, or that he rendered it godcyndnesse = divinity, godhead which was then changed?

3. f.95r/8 for hin read him.

4. f.95r/13 ic þone god gebidde ; read þinne.

5. f.95v/15-17. Ac ne furþon an his lichaman ne gehran ac godes mægen wæs on ðam winde hangigende... God's power was not hanging in the air, but the arrow was. Read with Sisam ac þurh godes mægen wæs... Divina virtute is in none of the four Latin texts, though Mombritius has it.

6. f.96v/17 for þone read þonne, for fran, fram.

7. f.97r/3 A verb is needed after on heora gebedum; supply gemunon with Herzfeld and Rypins.

8. f.97r/12 For feower read feowertig.

9. f.97v/3-4 He cwæð 'On naman Cristofores godes ic þis dem'.

From his note and glossary Rypins seems to take this saying of Dagnus', as he puts the bloody earth to his eyes, to mean 'in the name of the God of Christopher I believe this'. The Latin reads simply In nomine Dei Christofari. Rypins' interpretation is strained and has been rightly rejected by Ekwall (Anglia Beiblatt XXXVIII, 1927, 51) who anticipated Sisam's restoration of original dō = apply. It seems that an accent was wrongly expanded into final m. Dom would be possible if the original text were Mercian, as Sisam remarks, but on such a small and debatable point, we cannot build a notion of a Mercian original for the whole Life.

These errors can best be explained as simple scribal slips. Sisam, who describes most of them, concludes that they 'are evidence that the Vitellius copy is not very near to the original translation' (p. 70), a statement which is difficult to assess. The mistakes are not numerous and they are of the easiest kind to make; they lead me to infer that the text is not very far from the original translation.

The Old English Life of St. Christopher (DE SCO CHRISTOPHORE MAR) in MS Cotton Otho B X suffered severely in the fire of 1731, and except for a small part of the first leaf is now entirely lost. From Wanley's description we know the contents of the manuscript and their arrangement; (cf. Ker, Catalogue 177). It comprised assorted items written at various times, and brought together, it may be assumed, by Cotton. The part with Christopher was a collection of saints' lives, mostly by Ælfric,

copied in the first half of the eleventh century. The value of Wanley's description need hardly be stressed, as it offers a comparison with the Vitellius fragment. The extant leaf, which has not hitherto been examined, is a mere scrap of blackened parchment, about three inches high and four across, distorted at the edges and with a large hole running in from the bottom centre. The Latin title stands out boldly as though embossed, but the rest cannot easily be read, and the paper strips which hold it in place and a piece of fine gauze pasted over a large part, obscure the letters. On the recto side no more now exists than Wanley recorded (see above p. 19). The verso, with the exception of the parts to the lower right and left is illegible to me even under ultra-violet light, but enough can be made of them to tell us where the scribe had come to. I read

þinga þe worden þ sum wif
de hyto þ
geseah þone halgan
tade 7
of yrinende innan þa
ceastre 7 heo cigde to 7 clypode mid

This corresponds to the account of the woman's seeing Christopher and running back into the town to relate her experience[10]. According to Wanley the final lines of the text were :

> Forþam þe þær nu blowaƌ 7 growaƌ his ƌa halgan gebedu and þær is drihtnes herung mid eallre sibbe 7 gefean and þær is gebletsod crist þes lifiendan godes sunu se rixaƌ mid fæder 7 mid sunu 7 mid þam halgan gaste a butan ende on ecnysse. AMEN.

That the Otho text was for pulpit use cannot be doubted since it opens Menn þa leofstan..in the usual homiletic manner. Aside from immaterial differences of spelling and word order (Vitellius has, for example, crist godes sunu lyfigendes f.98r/9-10) the conclusion most notably lacks the prayer for the readers and scribes which appears in Vitellius after this, since as Förster points out (Beowulf-Handschrift p. 78) it would have been superfluous in a sermon. Yet the precise relationship between the Otho and Vitellius texts cannot be established; either each is an independent version from one archetype, or one is a modification of the other. In the Vitellius Christopher two rare spellings, not found elsewhere in that manuscript, occur. They are mytty þe or mitty þe for the commoner mid þy, and cyningc (13 times)

for the nominative singular. Cyningc seems to show confusion or transition from the regular cyning to cyninc with unvoicing of the final stop (see Campbell, Old English Grammar corrected edition, 1962, p. 181). Neither cyningc nor mytty þe has been localised, and in other respects the text is linguistically all of a piece, being 'plain' West-Saxon of the post-Alfredian period' (Rypins, p. xlix), and 'good average Late West Saxon' (Sisam, p. 68). The spelling cync is found in the incipit of Otho B X, and it is possible that this form and that in Vitellius go back to the translator, or are a sign of common transmission in texts now lost. Whatever the precise relationship between the Vitellius and Otho copies was, we must beware of assuming a radical difference between a saint's Life and a homily about him. The Vitellius copy itself has features quite in consonance with oral delivery, such as the direct address 'Wite þu ..' which introduces Christopher's approaching triumph (f.96v/2 ff.) In the religious culture of Anglo-Saxon England, when the commemoration of the saints played a large part in services, in public readings and private study, there could hardly have been an inviolably 'correct' account of their lives, and audience or occasion must have modified the details.

One important technical question must be considered. Against Neil Ker's statement that the Otho Christopher was 'probably the same text' as Vitellius (Catalogue, p. 226), Malone argues that it was 'considerably shorter', with a total of about 300 lines (Nowell Codex p. 114). This figure is demonstrably too low. We know from Wanley that the text ran from f.69r to f.76. It did not begin at the top of f.69 for several lines of the previous item still remain on the burnt leaf; let us assume that it began half-way down the page. At the same time it is possible that the text ended on f.76v, for Wanley only notes where a piece begins, not where it ends, and the story of Saint Mary of Egypt began on f.76v according to him. A run-over of Christopher on to f.76v would cancel out the end of the previous life on f.69r, giving a total of fifteen sides for the text or 14½ at the least. From the surviving leaves before and after the fragment it is known that the Otho scribe had 29 lines to a page. Thus there would be a total of 435 lines, or perhaps 15 less for the entire homily. Calculations for Vitellius A XV are necessarily nice. One must assume that in its complete state the Christopher was proportionally the same in length

as the Latin. Förster estimated that the Latin of the Acta Sanctorum has 349 lines of which the last 128 are represented in Vitellius on five leaves. This he regarded as a third, and reckoned that two-thirds, on ten leaves, have been lost before f.94. 128 is rather more than a third of 349 (which is 116), but this discrepancy is allowable in view of the expansion of the translation at the end. One third is the only figure one can reasonably work with. And yet, if lines, not leaves are taken into account, the result is not the same as Förster's. 175 lines remain with 20 lines to the page; so the lost 350 lines would fill 17½ pages of Vitellius. Hence not more than nine leaves have been lost. It is always possible that there were more or less, such is the state of our uncertainty. But on the best evidence we have, two conclusions follow. If the Otho text had 435 lines and Vitellius 525 (3 x 175), the former was not so much shorter as Malone calculated. Secondly, a gathering of nine lost leaves in Vitellius would be decidedly irregular, and the number confirms the theory set out in Chapter One, that other works preceded Christopher and that they began and ended without regard to the make-up of the quires.

The translation has been called 'clumsy'[11]. The same can be said of most vernacular renderings of the lives of saints at any time in the Middle Ages. Literary finesse and delicate style are not characteristic of the translation, which can only have been undertaken for the practical end of making St. Christopher's story accessible to those whose Latin was shaky; that it does well enough. Besides, there is nothing to show that the translator, as opposed to later copyists, blundered in his work. There is one exception, the misunderstanding at f.95v/11, where the archers are ordered to shoot ternas sagittas at the saint but the English has three soldiers, þry cempan...mid hyra strælum. At f.94v/4 ten flagons of oil are poured on the fire, although the Latin texts have forty. This corruption may have been present already in the translator's copy since in transmission the change from XL to X may easily have happened[12]. The translation as a whole is faithful in essence, but not slavish to the letter. The omissions are few and unimportant. All the Latin texts have Christopher saying that the torments are life to him, that in the flames he was standing and praying, and that in his final prayer he

opened his mouth. None of these is in the translation. We are told that Dagnus ordered Christopher to be guarded carefully (f.95v/20 ff.) since he thought the Christians might release him, but not that many of the people desired to receive his body. Herzfeld's comment, 'nur nebensächliches und überflüssiges erscheint gekürzt, häufiger finden sich erweiterungen' aptly sums up the principal characteristics of the piece.

There are alterations, beyond the inevitable restructuring of syntax, which show that the translator thought about what he was doing and did not write mechanically. He amplifies with circumstantial precision in a manner that makes for verisimilitude and leaves little to the imagination of the audience. When Christopher mentions God he adds 'the creator of all things' (f.94r/3); when the three torturers protest to Dagnus he has them killed the selfsame hour (94r/12)[13]; when Dagnus is blinded the Latin continues directly et dixit sanctissimus Christofarus, but in the English the obvious has first to be stated, 'When Saint Christopher saw that, he said..' (f.96r/10); when the saint is dead, Dagnus says 'Eamus et videamus, ubi posuerunt eum.' To whom is it addressed? to his þegnum (f.97r/14). Christopher defends his 'unsullied' faith, but there is no Latin equivalent for unwemne (f.95v/5). Not content with one arrow, the translator gives two and both the king's eyes are put out (f.96r/7). At times synonymns are piled up to emphasise exciting parts of the story, as when videns autem rex, decidit in faciem suam a timore magno becomes Myt ty þe he þæt geseah, he wæs on miceles modes wafunga 7 for þæs eges fyrhto he wæs swa abreged þæt he gefeol on eorðan (f.94v/18 ff.) Perhaps the best example of forceful paraphrase comes in Dagnus' speech after Christopher has survived the fire (f.95r/11-18).

The elaboration is most noticeable at the end. When Dagnus' sight is restored and his instant conversion occurs, a mere scrap of Latin becomes a dozen lines of impassioned oratory in which the king praises God, sends out commands that all his people shall accept the faith which Christopher held, and if anyone presume to betray it 'þurh deofles searwa' he shall be straightway put to the sword. So by God's power and Christopher's merit the king came to believe and to forsake his heathen ways. Many great things have been done and are still being done in Christopher's name. Finally the translator gives the saint's

prayer 'of þære nihstan tide ær he his gast onsende' (not in the Latin) for them that write of his sufferings, and for them that read them 'mid tearum' (again not in the Latin).

The Cult in Anglo-Saxon England

The cult of St. Christopher came into western Europe early in the seventh century and spread northwards during the next three centuries. His popularity rose in England to a remarkable height, but it was slow to do so, and we have no reason to think that it existed in the time of the translation nor indeed for long afterwards. A marked interest in him does not appear before the fourteenth century, and the evidence that in earlier times he was only one among many undistinguished saints is strong. Few English churches - about two in a thousand - are dedicated to him, a sparseness which may be explained when it is remembered that by c. 1300 the English parishes had been settled in a pattern scarcely disturbed until the nineteenth century. Hence the lack of dedications to St. Christopher at the end of the Middle Ages, when the cult was strongest, is a reflection of his relative obscurity before[14].

Such evidence is not inconsistent with the theory advanced by Sisam (Studies pp. 71-72) that by the late tenth century 'St. Christopher's cult spread rapidly among the devout, especially in select nunneries like Shaftesbury and the Nuns' Minster at Winchester.' Whether this is an overstatement of the true case can only be determined by a fresh look at the available evidence which is of several kinds.

Christopher first appears in England in the Old English Martyrology which is thought to be a translation, originating in Mercia in the second half of the ninth century, which was soon after copied in the south[15]. The entry, under 28 April, contains elements that indicate the Decius rather than the Dagnus version, and although the source(s) remain obscure I think there is a fair presumption that Irish influences must be reckoned with[16]. Christopher is included in the Irish martyrologies of Oengus and Tallaght (c. 800) where his name is rendered as dog-head. Dr. Hughes has argued that when these

martyrologies appeared there was in Ireland 'a special devotion to St. Christopher' (Analecta Bollandiana LXXXVII, 1959, 329) and this opinion can be supported by rock-carvings of dog-headed creatures, and by a place-name, in the Isle of Man[17]. The Irish martyrologies give Christopher's day as 28 April, although in the Martyrology of Oengus he is mentioned again under 25 July, with the telling remark 'apud Romanos'[18]. As Rome came to demand stricter uniformity in the various parts of Europe, the date 25 July displaced 28 April. No date is mentioned in the Old English Life of Christopher.

The date of commemoration is an important aspect of the kalendars of the church in England, which are scanty before the end of tenth century and rather unevenly preserved thereafter in terms of their geographical distribution. This material, printed by Wormald in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100 (Henry Bradshaw Society, LXXII, 1933), is open to various interpretations. On the whole it seems to bear the weight of Sisam's thesis, yet not without serious weaknesses. The attribution of Salisbury MS 150, c. 975, is questionable. Should we, as Sisam does, follow Edmund Bishop in the belief that it was written for the nunnery of Shaftesbury? Wormald simply describes the manuscript as 'West Country 969-78'. Again, the appearance of Christopher at 28 April in Nero A II, circa 1025, is decidedly odd. This date is unique among the English kalendars, and if the manuscript was written at the Nuns' Minster at Winchester, as seems most likely (see Sisam, Studies p. 71, note 1), it is improbable that the house was a place where Christopher was the centre of a cult. The compiler would surely have been au fait with the new date, 25 July, which was the orthodox one, especially since it was used at the same time at Canterbury in the Bosworth Psalter, and in MS Arundel 155, (Wormald, 5 and 13). On the other hand, the evidence of MS Vitellius E XVIII (Wormald, 12), ascribed to Winchester, perhaps to Hyde Abbey circa 1060, is in Sisam's favour. The entry is unusual, being in small capitals[19].

Not less important than the kalendars are our records of relics. Ever since the conversion they had been imported as part of a vast traffic carried on throughout Europe. Such objects, by virtue of their inherent sanctity, were integral to many spheres of religious life, as well as to legal contracts and oath-taking[20]. They appealed to kings and nobles no less than to the clergy, and it was proper to collect and

to will them. In the tenth century, probably as a minor part of ecclesiastical reform, there was a movement to bring the relics of great churches and monasteries together in shrines. Inventories were made and some have survived. From these we know that relics of St. Christopher were at Exeter and Winchester by the early eleventh century, while there is no record of their existence elsewhere in England[21]. The Exeter list dates from c. 1020-40 but is thought to be a copy of an original of the beginning of the century. According to the preamble the relics were donated by Athelstan, who presented them c.937-940. Among a long record of martyrs, disciples and holy men and women there is the entry 'Of sco Christofore þam martyre'. The Winchester, more precisely New Minster, records are found in the Liber Vitae of Hyde Abbey, as New Minster was rechristened. There are three lists, all of the mid eleventh century which include 'reliquie Sancti Christophori', 'reliquie Sancti Christophori in albo' (the second in the shrine of John and Peter), and 'sancte Christfores ban' in a modest collection of sixteen items, which purports to have 'eal se halidom ðe wæs on Æþestanes [sic] kyningces gimme'[22].

Unfortunately the two references to Athelstan cannot be taken at their face value, for the inclusion of relics of people who died after him shows that additions had been made to the collections[23]. Yet these are few and there is no cause to doubt that the majority of the relics were in fact presented by Athelstan, who was the most passionate of all the royal collectors and the most munificent. He was also a benefactor of Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Abingdon, Westminster, and Durham. Athelstan's determination was exemplary, for, as the Exeter list has it, once his intention was formed he sent men 'ofer sæ' to search for relics. Relics of St. Christopher can only have come from the Continent and by Athelstan's time they would have been available there in a score of places.

To return to Sisam. It cannot be maintained that the cult of St Christopher was popular, as he implies it was by his statement 'there is no evidence that his cult was exceptionally popular in England till the late tenth and early eleventh centuries' (Studies p.71). Nor is there convincing proof that 'the cult spread rapidly among the devout'. Even the evidence of the relics may be misleading; an Exeter kalendar of the late eleventh century omits Christopher entirely

(Wormald 7). Yet despite the reservations which I have expressed the core of Sisam's argument remains sound. The Life was translated, presumably in a conventual house, in southern England, and the existence of two copies shows that it was disseminated, if only in a modest way. I would agree with Sisam that the translation was probably done in the mid-tenth century (Studies p. 72); the language can hardly be much older, while a degree of corruption through transmission makes it unlikely that the translator was working at the end of the century. The Latin original may have been in England for many years before anyone thought to translate it. Often a particular saint began to be celebrated in a religious house because its library owned a copy of his life, and, by a reverse process, the arrival of relics pertaining to a hitherto little regarded figure might arouse enough curiosity to create the demand for a written account of him[24]. When the veneration of the saints meant so much, it was natural to ascertain their histories and the spheres of human life in which their intercession might be invoked. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the Church was in no way isolated from the Continent. Contacts of all kinds were maintained, for example by the visits of churchmen and by their correspondence, and by royal marriages. New collections of saints' lives may have been brought by Grimbald when he arrived in England at Alfred's invitation, or by the monks of St. Josse who came to Winchester in 901 with their relics rather than face Viking attacks. In 944 most of the monks of St. Bertin's, averse from new regulations, settled at Bath, having brought some at least of their books with them. Such instances can easily be multiplied[25].

1. It is easy to make mistakes. Karl Brunner ('Why was "Beowulf" Preserved?' Etudes Anglaises VII, 1954, 1-5, p. 3) wrote of St. Christopher's feat in carrying the Christ-child over the river as that of 'a very strong man, maybe of a hero, but /it/ does not need gifts denied to a human being'. In any discussion of the Old English text, this is quite anachronistic.

2. A. Löhr, 'Der Heilige Christophorus und die Wandlungen im Christlichen Heiligenkult' in Vom Christlichen Mysterium Düsseldorf, 1951, pp. 227-259; see pp. 227-230.

3. The most elaborate comparison between the 'Decius' and 'Dagnus' versions is Konrad Richter, 'Der Deutsche S. Christoph.' Acta Germanica V, Part 1, 1896, pp. 35 ff.

4. The best guide to eastern iconography and legend is Walter Loeschcke, 'Santus Christophorus Canineus' in Edwin Redslob : zum 70 Geburtstag Berlin, 1955, pp. 33-82.

5. H. Delehaye, Les Passions des Martyrs et les Genres Littéraires Brussels, 1921, p. 236; cf. p. 309, 'On finit par avoir l'impression de relire toujours la même histoire, redite à peu près dans les mêmes termes'. Arrows that never find their mark are common in saints' lives, and the punishment most usually inflicted on the persecutors is blindness. Löhr (p. 256, note 70) has found verbal borrowings from the Bible in the Latin text.

6. See Delehaye, Chapter 5, and R. Aigrain L'Hagiographie Paris, 1953, p. 198.

7. The texts printed in Analecta Bollandiana X, 1891, 393-405, by Mussafia, Sitzungsb. d. kais. Akad. d. Wissen. Phil-hist. Classe CXXIX,9, Vienna, 1893, 67-78, and by Lanzoni, Studia Picena IV, 1928, 143-49, can safely be disregarded for this # comparison, so different are they in many details. Early manuscripts of the Vita recorded in Analecta Bollandiana are, Ghent 244; Chartres 193; Rouen U 42; Montpelier 55; all are ascribed to the tenth century. Bollandist Library 14 (= BHL 1773) is of the eighth century.

8. Rypins, pp. xlvii-xlix. He castigates Einenkel's 'flagrantly inaccurate text', his 'injudicious and altogether unwarranted prefatory remarks', and his criticism of Herzfeld which 'is altogether unfounded and certainly a scholarly injustice.'.

9. Mombritius was writing in the fifteenth century, and his version of Christopher derives ultimately from a twelfth century collection, the Magnum Legendarium Austriacum which is still inedited; see G. Eis, Die Quellen für das Sanctuarium. (Germanische Studien CXL) 1933, pp. 49-50.

10. Cf. Rosenfeld, p. 521, lines 3-6: Et dum haec oraret, eo exiit mulier de civitate illa, ut iret adorare idola, et videns ipsum Sanctum Christoffarum contremuit: et facies ejus mutata est, videns autem corpus humani, capud istius cani. Et cucurrit ad civitatem, etclamavit dicens .....

11. G. H. Gerould, Saints' Legends Boston and New York, 1916, p. 125.

12. Numbers are of course one of the least stable parts of medieval texts. I have not found the figure ten elsewhere - the Old French version has eighteen, the Old Irish thirty, the Carolingian metrical Passio, forty.

13. Cf. also on ðære yldan tide (f.96v/18); by mergenlican dæge (f. 96v/5); beforan eallum þam folce(f.97v/7).

14. Rosenfeld, p. 97 was puzzled by the lack of dedications which he attributed without evidence to opposition from the Church. The explanation adopted here is that of John Salmon in his important paper, 'St. Christopher in English Medieval Art and Life.' Journal of the British Archaeological Association N.S. XLI, 1936, 76-115.

15. Edition by Herzfeld (E.E.T.S. O.S. CXVI, 1900). See also C. Sisam, 'An Early Fragment of the Old English "Martyrology".' RES N.S. IV, 1953, 209-220.

16. This date of commemoration is an eastern element which recurs in many inter-related continental martyrologies. If it was spread to the continent by Irish missionary activity, the influence on the Old English Martyrology may have come from there. Yet it may have been directly from Ireland to England. St. Christopher is not in the most authoritative manuscripts of Bede's Martyrology; see H. Quentin, Les Martyrologes Historiques du Moyen Age Paris, 1908, p. 50.

17. See Salmon, p. 97.

18. See the edition by W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Society, XXIX, 1905), p. 170.

19. Bishop believed that there was a common influence from the Pas-de-Calais behind this work and Titus D XXVII (New Minster c. 1030); see Liturgica Historica 1918, p. 254.

20. See Max Förster, Zur Geschichte des Reliquienkultus in Altengland. (Sitzungsberichte d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wissens. Phil-hist. Abteilung, 1943, 8).

21. Rosenfeld, p. 462 gives Peterborough also for the beginning of the eleventh century, but the evidence is not reliable.

22. See Förster pp. 24-40, and W. de Gray Birch, Liber Vitae (Hampshire Record Society) 1892, pp. 148, 162-3, 159-60.

23. See Förster, pp. 36-40, and Birch p. 163.

24. See B. de Gaiffier d'Hestroy 'L'Hagiographie et son public au XI siècle' in Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Leonis van der Essen Brussels and Paris, 1947, pp. 135-166.

25. See, for example, P. Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest'. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society Fourth Series, XXIII, 1941, 71-112.

CHAPTER THREE : THE WONDERS OF THE EAST

The Manuscripts and Earlier Editions

The Old English Wonders of the East exists not only in this manuscript but also in Tiberius B V , where it is divided into thirty-six unnumbered sections, each preceded by the Latin text descended from the source from which the translation was made. A second Latin text is in Bodley 614 (ff.36r-47v), an early twelfth-century manuscript of whose history in the Middle Ages nothing is known. The Latin texts are distinguished from the English by the name Mirabilia. All three manuscripts have illustrations; those in Tiberius and Bodley are identical, while the Vitellius series differs considerably from them. As De Rebus In Oriente Mirabilibus the English and Latin of Tiberius were printed in 1861 by Cockayne in Narratiunculae Anglice Conscriptae. The Vitellius Wonders was used for variant readings. Holder gave an accurate collation of the English texts in Anglia I, 1878, 331-337. A more satisfactory edition, though it is frequently faulty, is Fritz Knappe's dissertation Das Angelsächsische Prosastück 'Die Wunder des Ostens' Berlin, 1906. His introduction is chiefly of use for its account of grammatical and phonological features. The two vernacular texts are printed side by side, with the Mirabilia from Tiberius at the foot of the page. The Vitellius Wonders and the Mirabilia of Tiberius were again published by Rypins in 1924 but he hardly bothered with the translation in Tiberius, and his transcription of the Latin shows a strange falling off from his customary mechanical accuracy. In 1925 B. L. Garrad presented as his doctoral thesis at London an edition of the Wonders from Vitellius collated with Tiberius. Garrad's work is of a high calibre: his discussion of the illustrations and the phonology, not to mention a very accurate text, are the result of long and careful study. The main want - and it is one shared by Knappe and Rypins - is his not finding the abundant comparative material for the Mirabilia. Sisam was able to make pioneer use of such material in the Studies chiefly because most of it had been printed by M. R. James in his sumptuous facsimile edition of Marvels of the East from all three manuscripts (Roxburghe Club, 1929). James did not treat the Old English at all, though he edited the Mirabilia.

The Latin Paradoxographic Tradition

It was through James' book that English readers first became aware that the Mirabilia-Wonders are only a branch of a complex literary corpus which, taking a hint from Förster[1], I have called the 'paradoxographic tradition', meaning by that 'stories of the marvellous and incredible in the natural world'. Sisam's succinct account of the Latin members of this family which are related to the Mirabilia barely hints at the intense study which has been devoted to them in the past century and a half. Material has come to light slowly in widely scattered places, and the history of the scholarship has been one of 'two paces forward and one back'. Thus I shall adduce an Old French translation of the Mirabilia, unknown to James and Sisam, though it was printed in 1923. The reason is simple. Scholars working outwards from the pieces in our three manuscripts, have not been fortunate enough to stumble on the related versions, and would hardly have done so but by accident[2]. For the most part the credit belongs to continental scholars who found the paradoxographic tradition incidental to their main preoccupation with stories of Alexander. Four Latin versions are involved, and they will be considered severally and then together. The need to condense what I have found to be a veritable romance of modern scholarship may lead to dryness, but clarity is of the essence here. The Liber Monstrorum, of which there is no adequate account in English, despite its importance for Beowulf, is more fully discussed in Appendix B.

1. The Liber Monstrorum, as it is now known, was first published by Jules Berger de Xivrey in his Traditions Tératologiques Paris, 1836, with the title De Monstris et Belluis which was of his own devising. He had found it in the famous Rosanbo Manuscript, which has been bought recently for the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. De Xivrey worked hurriedly and it is no surprise that his edition abounds in errors. A far more careful edition was published by Ulysse Robert from the same manuscript in the appendix to Les Fables de Phèdre Paris, 1893. A second manuscript, Wolfenbüttel 148, was printed by Moritz Haupt in Index Lectionum Aestivarum Berlin, 1863, and reprinted more accessibly in his Opuscula II Leipzig, 1876, 218-252. A collation of a third manuscript, Leyden Vossius Lat. oct. 60, was printed by Antoine Thomas in

'Un Manuscrit inutilisé du Liber Monstrorum', ALMA I, 1924, 232-245. There is a fourth copy in the tenth century manuscript B.M. Royal 15 B XIX (ff.103v-106v) which was probably made at the Abbey of St. Remi at Rheims. It remains inedited[3]. According to Manitius two other manuscripts of this work were at Bobbio but nothing is known of what happened to them. The sigla adopted for the printed copies are, A = Haupt's, B = Berger de Xivrey's, and C = Thomas's.

2. Premonis. The unique copy of the Epistola Premonis Regis Ad Trajanum Imperatum was published from Strassburg MS C IV 15 by Eberhard Graëf in Diutiska II, Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1827, 195-198. Graaf ascribed the manuscript, which also contained works by Cicero, Jerome, Augustine, Boethius, and Bede, to the eighth or ninth century (p. 192), but this can hardly be depended on. Scholars of his day tended to pre-date the manuscripts they saw. The manuscript was totally destroyed in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 when the library as Strassburg was burned.

3. The unique copy of Fermes (Divo Adriano: Fermes Divo Adriano Salutem) in a Beauvais manuscript 'également au IXe ou X siècle', now Bib. Nat. 1065 d. nouv. acq. lat. (ff.92v-95v) was printed by Omont as 'Lettre à l'Empereur Adrien sur les Merveilles de l'Asie', Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes LXXIV, 1913, 507-515. The text is frequently corrupt, but it received intelligent attention from an owner of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, whose corrections 'seraient parfois d'une ingéniosité et d'une élégance à faire pâlir de dépit le plus sagace des philologues modernes.' Faral, who pays him this compliment (see below) supposes that he may have been correcting from another manuscript, and I agree with him.

4. The Otia Imperialia, a large and rambling work, dedicated to the Emperor Otto IV, was composed by the English writer Gervase of Tilbury c.1212[4]. The third book of the Otia deals with 'marvels of every province' and in the middle of it, much altered in phrasing and partly interpolated, is a version of Fermes without the epistolary trappings. There are a number of manuscripts of the Otia, which has not been edited in modern times. The text was published by Leibniz in Scriptores rerum brunsvicensium I, 1707, 984 ff.

The text of Leibniz's Otia, Premonis, and Fermes were reprinted by Edmond Faral in a study of distinction, 'Une Source Latine de l'Histoire d'Alexandre : La Lettre sur les Merveilles de l'Inde' Romania XLIII, 1914, 199-215 and 353-370. Faral also printed the Mirabilia from Tiberius, as given in Cockayne's edition of 1861. His paper is a landmark in the comparative study of these various documents, which he recognised to be, with many qualifications, largely the same as each other in substance. It is equally evident that the compiler of the Liber Monstrorum drew on an account similar in content to these works. There can be little doubt that the ultimate work behind the pieces now left to us - they could be called 'variations on a theme' - was a Greek text, perhaps a rhetorical exercise, which had been translated into Latin. But of this we know nothing. Moreover, although the surviving versions appear to create an embarras des richesses, it is by no means easy to establish their intimate relationships; for one thing there are only unique copies of Premonis and Fermes and to date the originals behind them accurately is not feasible.

The relationship of the four versions with each other and with the Mirabilia has been discussed at length by Faral and James. Faral did not know of the second copy of Mirabilia in Bodley 614, but its differences from Tiberius are not of such a character that they associate it with the other pieces[5]. In this context one may refer to the two texts as a single unit. The Old French translation of a document very close to the Mirabilia sometimes agrees with the readings of the other versions; it will be considered later. Logical continuity is the element most noticeably missing in the works of the paradoxographic tradition; the nature of the materials is such that they may easily be fragmented, abstracted, re-arranged, or supplemented. The compilers or adaptors of the various texts seem to have recognised this and to have taken advantage of it, but they did attempt to impose some kind of design so that their works would not be utterly formless. Behind the names 'Fermes' and Premonis' there appears to be the same figure, Pharasmanes of Iberia (present-day Georgia), the supposed writer of the letters[6]. Besides this epistolary fiction a quasi-scientific itinerary is incorporated in Fermes, with distances reckoned in statia; after a few sections the distances are no longer given. Gervase suppressed the stadia in Fermes, which he tends to paraphrase and to make more elegant (cf. James, p. 9); his text is an aid in remedying corruptions,

besides being a witness that Fermes was still available in the twelfth century in a fairly full form. In Premonis the epistolary framework is very bare and distances are not calculated. Its affiliations are confused. It is practically 'a shortened text' of Mirabilia, as James remarks (p. 34), with items from Mirabilia which are not in Fermes, and it ends at the point where Mirabilia ends, although there is more matter in Fermes. The Mirabilia itself, although it does not masquerade as a letter, has a double set of calculations, in stadia and in leagues. Fermes is clearly the source for much, but not all of it, and the Mirabilia is best considered as 'une rédaction intermédiaire' between Fermes and Premonis. Yet Premonis is not derived from the Mirabilia as it now exists, for it avoids some of the corruptions in Mirabilia (see below pp. 42 ff), and preserves the correct order of the parts which has been disturbed in Mirabilia (see p. 39).

The Liber Monstrorum is awkward to place. It was conceived on a totally different plan from any of the other works and its author was quite eclectic. James reports that Mirabilia was the source of many pasages which are found in the Liber Monstrorum; but the source was not the Mirabilia as it is now, but an earlier version more closely related to Premonis and to the source of the Old French translation.

The French 'Wonders'

Of vital importance to the study of the Mirabilia is an Old French text, which seems to reflect a Latin model many centuries older. It was published by Alfons Hilka as 'Ein neuer (altfranzösischer) Text des Briefes über die Wunder Asiens', Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur XLVI, 1923, 92-103. I have used a microfilm copy of the unique manuscript 14562 Royal Library, Brussels. It is of the thirteenth century, and linguistic forms prove that the scribe or perhaps the author was a Picard. The text is on ff.5v-6v in double columns, and is written without a break; a large initial ornament seems to represent the robbing of the gold dug up by ants (Section 10), but there are no other illustrations.

The introductory sentence, 'Haus empereres, je vous senefiie aucunes coses qui sont merveilleuses en Inde', shows that in form this version, like Fermes and Premonis, is a letter. This is confirmed by the explicit, 'Explicit l'epistle le roy Perimenis a l'empereur', which leaves one in no doubt that Perimenis is the same Pharasmanes who appears elsewhere as Fermes and Premonis. The French is a hybrid in its textual affiliations. The Latin from which the translation was made was closely related to Mirabilia, and the translation contains nothing that is not in Mirabilia, though its parts are usually shorter. In many readings the Latin model agreed with Premonis and/or the Liber Monstrorum against Mirabilia as it now is, and as it was in the common ancestor of Tiberius and Bodley. The order of the sections in the French is the same as that in Fermes and Premonis. It is especially interesting since it is the only other vernacular treatment of Mirabilia besides the English translation. There is some evidence that the Brussels manuscript was based on earlier copies (see Hilka, p. 95), but one cannot tell whether all the corruptions and omissions stem from them, or from the lost Latin.

Comparative Table

The systems of numbering for the paragraphs of the various versions are very different in Faral and James. The following table is based on James' numbers, with modifications to fit my discussion and edition. James divides 35 of Mirabilia into 35 and 36, and subdivides other sections, e.g. 7 a, b, c, etc. The Old French is included with Mirabilia in this list, though it will be remembered that it has the epistolary framework, and that the total sequence of the sections is the same as in Fermes and Premonis. The Table is intended only to aid in locating comparative matter for Mirabilia-Wonders, and it disguises to some degree the omission in Premonis of matter which is but a part of a larger section in Mirabilia.

Mirabilia-Wonders and Old French	Premonis	Fermes
-	1	1
1	-	2-3
2	-	4-8
3	2	9
4	3	10
5	-	11
6	5	11
7	6-8	11-14
8	4,9-10	15-16
9	11	17
10	12	18
11	13	19
12	14	20
13	15	21
14	16	-
15	-	-
16	17	22
17	18	23
18	27	-
19	28-29	33
20	-	36
21	30	-
22	31	34
23	32	-
24	33	35,37,40
25	34	39
26	19	24-26
27	20	27
28	21	28
29	22	-
30	23	30
31	24	30
32	25	31
33	26	31
34	35	38
35	36-37	41-2
36	38	43
-	-	44-48

The Mirabilia

Although the related versions described above are invaluable for elucidating the Mirabilia, it is on the two texts of it in Tiberius and Bodley that the architype must be reconstructed. There are two major issues, a misplaced leaf, and an addition of other items. In Tiberius Mirabilia falls into 36 sections each of which is followed by a translation. From the sequence in Fermes and Premonis it is clear that the order in Tiberius, Bodley, and the English translation has been disturbed and that it ought to be 1-17, 26-33, 18-25, 34-36. The common ancestor of Tiberius and Bodley must have had the displacement, but a more remote ancestor did not, since the Old Franch translation keeps the original order. James attributes the confusion to a displaced leaf (p. 25), while Sisam argues that if a common ancestor was illustrated 'wrong folding of a conjugate pair of leaves is likely' (Studies, p. 77). There is no evidence one way or the other, nor can I account for the remarkable coincidence that in the Vitellius copy of the translation sections 34-36 are missing. In Tiberius section 36 is followed by a brief account (in Latin and English) of Jamnes and Mambres, a fragment derived from a lost apocryphon[7]. Bodley has the Latin text of this, and a further twelve items of folk lore and marvels, illustrated in the same style as the Mirabilia. Like Sisam I take all this material to be an accretion to the Mirabilia, despite James' opinion that Vitellius is imperfect at the end, and that Tiberius 'originally' contained the sections after Jamnes and Mambres (Marvels, pp. 8, 51). James may be right about Vitellius, or the exemplar for it, and in one obvious sense the translation is imperfect inasmuch as it is incomplete. Jamnes and Mambres was certainly in the common ancestor of Tiberius and Bodley, but there is nothing to show that these other sections were, and good iconographic and historical grounds exist for believing that they were not (see Sisam, p. 77, note 5). Jamnes and Mambres seems to have been added early, and it is possible that the English translation of it was made by the same person who originally translated Wonders. The piece is so short that a firm pronouncement on this point would be risky, particularly since scribal influence is possible; there is the same tendency to double consonants (micclan, miccle) which is in Wonders in the same manuscript, and the forms breðer for the genitive singular and geopenude instead

of the more usual geopenode, are Late West Saxon (see Campbell, Grammar p. 255 and Sievers, Grammatik[3] p. 248 note 2). Geopenude could conceivably be a very archaic form, but that is improbable. In two places, however, Jamnes and Mambres does offer a link with the preceding work. One is the use of seaƌ = lacus, which Jordan[a] regards as a peculiarity of Anglian, the other the elliptical relative construction ic widstod [t]wam gebroƌrum, Moyses hatte 7 Aaron.[8] It is perhaps worth saying that after making an exhausitve study of Jamnes and Mambres I can find no reason why it should have been added to the Mirabilia - Wonders, beyond the obvious yet unsatisfactory one that it treats of something marvellous in the East.

Both texts of Mirabilia are corrupt. I refer to them by the numbers of the sections. Each has a smattering of scribal errors that can easily be detected, for example, Tiberius 9 Naliqua ; 10 aput ; 14 Tras ; 20 basamum : Bodley 1 Colononia ; 8 aprum ; 14 Ham ; 36 altus. The mistakes are neither numerous nor serious, but there are many omissions in both texts, as almost any page of the edition will show. Minor differences in word order occur occasionally (e.g. 10, Tiberius Dum circa autem, Bodley Dum autem circa) or the same sense may be expressed differently (e.g. 16, Tiberius simili modo, Bodley similiter). In the story of the gold-digging ants (10) and in the account of the phoenix (35) there is a greater divergence between the two texts, which must be the result of deliberate reworking. In 10 there is no firm evidence for the priority of one over the other, and one cannot tell which best represents the common ancestor; Bodley expands 35 from other sources.

It is, indisputable that the common ancestor contained gross perversions of the sense in some remote and irrecoverable version, and that these perversions were compounded in one or both of the surviving texts, and often passed on to the English translation. At this point it is necessary to anticipate a little, by calling as witnesses the Old English translation in its two forms, and the illustrations. Sisam has been almost everywhere before me.

a) 12. This tells of a race who go to India to reproduce. The illustrations show nude men. Mirabilia reads suis manibus transferuntur in Indiam but Premonis has immorantur in navibus, which corresponds with Vitellius farað hy on

scipum to Indeum (Tiberius omits on scipum) and with the French passent en nes. What really happens is that they turn into storks, Ciconia, which has become a place name in the next paragraph, and the sense must be restored from Fermes, homines in avibus ..... transfigurantur.

b) 13. The illustrations show nude men, the one in Tiberius being lion-headed. Mirabilia describes men of three colours, lion-headed and with huge mouths, who run away from men and sweat blood. They are thought to be men, hi putantur homines fuisse. The translator renders this accurately, but it is very corrupt, and all versions differ. The original description was of the hippopotamus, whose name is hidden in hi putantur homines fuisse. The mistake arose from a reading like that in Premonis, hyppotami appellantur. The French calls them ypotames; Fermes, yppofogi; Gervase hippophagi; Liber Monstrorum, ippotamos (A), ipotamos (B), ipotamus (C).

c) 15. The 'lertices', small creatures with asses' ears, sheeps' wool and birds' feet. The translation, the Latin of Bodley, and the pictures support this. Tiberius, however, has pedibus ovum (read avium). This part is not in Fermes or Premonis; in the Liber Monstrorum, in a quite different passage, the 'celestices' are names, as in the French here.

d) 18. Mirabilia describes the Homodubii as human to the waist, then ass-like, longis cruribus ut aves lena voce. (Tiberius, longis pedibus ut). Both series of illustrations show a centaur. The translation gives them longe sconcon swa fugelas. The account is not in Fermes, but Premonis has pedes habent ut equus which fits the illustrations here. James suggests that the Mirabilia reading has been derived from ut oues, but the legs are not sheep-like in the pictures. The French translation may be a re-working, but it makes better sense than the rest: .. et apres fourme d'asne sauvage. Il ont XII pies de lonc et soeuf vois comme oisel.

e) 19. Mirabilia describes two places (loci/loca), where the translation has seabas = laci (for lacus) in Premonis. The pictures in Vitellius show what seem to be two round ponds, incorrectly described as 'wheels' by James, and the lakes in

Tiberius are unmistakeable. What the original sense was is hard to tell, for the French lieu agrees with Mirabilia, Fermes has latera and Gervase palatia.

f) 21. The illustrations of the 'Donestre' show men with animal heads, otherwise human. The whole episode is omitted in Fermes and the crucial part in the French. Bodley agrees with the pictures, while Premonis and the Tiberius Mirabilia make the upper part of the body human; the rest of the body is human in Tiberius but not in Premonis. In the Liber Monstrorum they are simply comixtae naturae. The English, which is corrupt, makes them like soothsayers (swa frihteras) in the upper part, and human in the lower.

g) 22. A race with ears like fans, take them up (tollunt sibi aures) and flee so fast that one would think they are flying. In the translation they take their ears on hand, and they are shown thus in the pictures of Tiberius and Bodley, with long droopy ears entwined about their arms. The Vitellius picture, however, shows big ears projecting from the head, and this agrees with the account of Fermes, Premonis, the French, and the Liber Monstrorum.

The artistic significance of these pictures is discussed by Wittkower in 'Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes V, 1942, 159-197, pp. 172-173. His remarks are all the more valuable as he was unaware that the long-eared people portrayed in Tiberius and Bodley are explained in the English translation (on hand). It would seem that the translation has been affected by the pictures, and if this is so it indicates that the Mirabilia was illustrated before the translation was made. According to Wittkower the two different pictorial types for this race have their origin in Greek translations of Sanskrit: Skylax, writing in the sixth century B.C., called them the people with ears like winnowing fans, but Ktesias said that their ears covered the arms as far as the elbow. 'The picture of the Tiberius B V coincides with the description given by Ktesias, and the text with that of Skylax; as the Latin authors [i.e. Solinus and Isidore] are in this case general and vague, it must be assumed that a

pictorial formula based on Ktesias' text had been evolved in Greece.' (p. 173). Presumably this pictorial formula had become stereotyped by the time the translation was made. The Vitellius picture not only fits the Mirabilia text but it was evidently not an isolated representation, for similar men with fan-like ears are found in monumental art in the twelfth century tympanum at Vezelay. It may be possible to push the evidence further. Neither James nor Sisam could explain why there are two quite obviously distinct series of illustrations (Vitellius/Tiberius-Bodley). The only explanation in fact is that one, perhaps each of them, has been deliberately altered from an earlier illustrated text. The interrelationships discussed here point to that text having illustrations in the main like those of Tiberius-Bodley. When the pictures were redesigned for Vitellius - or more probably one of its ancestors - another pictorial tradition was used.

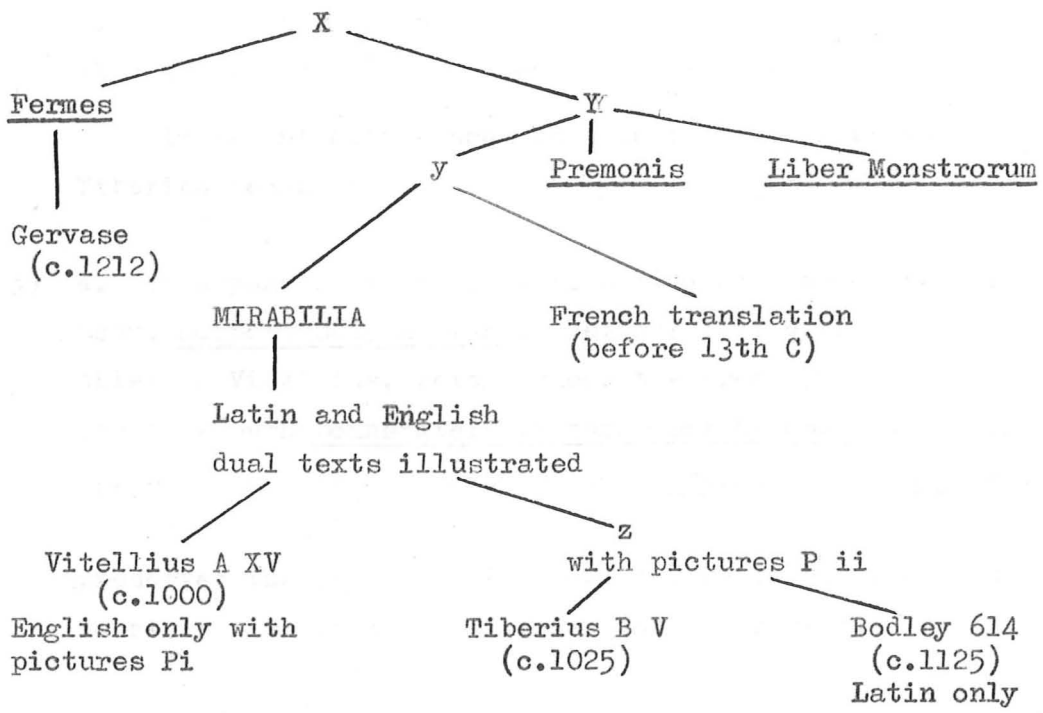
h) 28. Long-haired women have boars' tusks, tails, camels' feet and animal teeth. Bodley omits the mention of teeth completely, and in Tiberius Mirabilia we read, pedes habentes cameli apinos (read aprinos). The Tiberius translation has eofores teeth, which is redundant since the women are already said to have eoferes tuxas. The Vitellius translation, however, has eoseles ted which corresponds with the pictures in the same manuscript (but not in Tiberius) and with dentes asinorum in Premonis. The French confirms an early reading asinorum here, although the reference is to the ears, et oreilles d'asne.

i) 31. In Mirabilia and the Wonders a generous people give women to visitors when they leave; this is shown in the pictures. The original sense was cum munieribus (not mulieribus) as in Fermes, remunerati dimittuntur, and Gervase, pretiosis donariis remuneratos. Yet the corruption is in Premonis, and, with a further variation of sense, in the French.

This is by no means the full tally of perverted meaning in Mirabilia (see notes to the text), but in these places significant light is thrown on the history of its transmission. Mirabilia was already corrupt in places when the illustrations were added (a), (b), (i); the Latin text has been changed since the pictures were added (c), (d), (e), (f), (h); the translator was influenced by the illustrations (g); Premonis and the French version show that the text from which the translation was made differed in some readings from the present Mirabilia (a), (e); the Vitellius translation seems to preserve older readings which have been altered in the translation in Tiberius, presumably to conform with changes in Mirabilia (a), (h); Mirabilia in Bodley occasionally supports the translation against Mirabilia in Tiberius (c), (d), (f). There are also isolated readings shared by Bodley and the translation, which show that the former may be a more reliable guide than Tiberius to the readings in the common ancestor of Mirabilia, e.g.

1.	fiftyne and hundteontig Bodley	C et XV	Tiberius omits
9.	On sumon lande	In alia regione	Tiberius Naliqua
10.	hatte....þe	vocatur...qui	Tiberius omits
10.	-	-	Gargulum (a river name)
13.	XX fota lange	longi pedibus XX	Omits longi

To sum up, Mirabilia is a version in the paradoxographic tradition, where the letter form is discarded, distances in leagues are added, the order of the sections is disturbed, illustrations are added, and new material follows the piece and is transmitted with it. On the evidence presented the following stem may be made for transmission.



The Old English Wonders

Of the three prose items in Vitellius Wonders is the only translation which can clearly be linked to a Latin text close to that on which the translation was based. The main difference between the Vitellius and Tiberius texts has been dealt with above, namely the omission of sections 34-36 in Vitellius. It also omits section 5, a short paragraph which cannot have vanished with the loss of leaves in an earlier copy. The most acceptable explanation is that it was intentionally cut out during the transmission from the common ancestor, since there is little of substance in the section and it is mostly about measurements. Each text of the translation, when compared with the other and with the Mirabilia, shows a sprinkling of minor errors and omissions, which need not be tabulated as they are evident in the edition. There are a few differences in word order and construction between the two texts, for example in 6, Þeos stow hafaþ nædran V : Ðeos steow næddran hafaþ T, and in 19, Se sunnan seaþ se biþ.. V : Se ðe sunnan is se byþ.. T . These do not materially affect the sense, however, and it is hardly practical to say which embodies the original translation more accurately.

Numbers in the reckoning of stadia and leagues often differ widely, as they do in all the versions in the tradition, and they are not reliable evidence for tracing affiliations.

Important differences between the Vitellius and Tiberius texts are :

j) 4. If anyone wants to capture a kind of monster he arms his body, corpora sua inarmant. Neither text gives the sense of this; in Vitellius, which echoes the preceding item, the monsters burn þonne hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað. Sisam (p. 80) suggests a misreading of inarmant as inurunt here, but the notion is rather forced. At all events Vitellius preserves the reference to 'bodies', while Tiberius makes the monsters rage furiously against their pursuers.

k) 13 and 18. If a creature sees a man he runs away. Vitellius doubles the verb, ongitað oððe geseoþ. This occurs again in 18 where Tiberius also has the reduplication. It is a fair deduction that this was a trick of the translator and that it should be in Tiberius 13.

In 13 and 18 longe fugiunt is accurately represented in Vitellius, while Tiberius twice elaborates it, þonne feorriað hi and fleoð. This can hardly be coincidence; someone has turned feor (the reading in Vitellius = longe) into a verb.

l) 24. The English in Tiberius follows the Mirabilia closely in the account of Helipolis : ubi est Belis templum in diebus regis et Jobis aereo et ferreo opere constructum, quod etiam Beliobiles dicitur. Et inde est edis solis ad orientem ubi est sacerdos quietus, qui illa oppida maritima observat. Vitellius has a desperate text, utter gibberish, in which the temple is of isernum geworcum and of glæsægegotum. And on þære ilcan stowe is æt sunnan upgange setl quietus þæs still-estan bisceopes, se nænine oþerne mete ne þige buton sæ ostrum and be þam he lifede. What is of interest here is that the mistranslations depend on a Latin text; glæsgegotum 'sheet glass' is due to a misreading of aereo as vitreo, and setl of edes as sedes. Quietus is lifted straight from the Latin, and the sea-oysters seem to be from misreading oppida as ostrea.

There are two possibilities which would account for this. Either the translator was responsible for such nonsense, which was corrected in Tiberius by a comparison with the Latin, or in the course of transmission between the translation and Vitellius the passage gave trouble, and someone tried with the least possible success to remodel it on the Latin in the same manuscript. The second is preferable, since the passage is no more difficult than several others which the translator coped with, and if the Mirabilia itself had been corrupt at this point some of its errors would surely have been transmitted to Tiberius and Bodley.

m) 27. Vitellius is poor here (see edition) although the errors are soon clarified by Tiberius. In the last sentence, which tells how the women hunt all the animals on the mountain, Vitellius has mid heora scin:::e þæt hi tohuntiaþ (f.105v/6-7). Tiberius omits mid heora scin:::e, which is best explained as scinlace or some such word with a similar meaning, i.e. 'magic', 'sorcery', with Sisam and Malone. This restoration is based on cum illis in Mirabilia, where it properly refers to the beasts with which the women hunt, but where it may have been taken as illusio. If this was the fact it is, like (l), evidence that there was interaction between an ancestor of the Vitellius text and the Latin, after the original translation was made. To my mind, however, it is much shakier than (l).

The common ancestor of the two manuscripts was a careful translation. It had, however, these mistakes :

n) 17. Because of the great number of dragons (rather 'sea-serpents', dracones) one cannot easily pass trans flumen. In the English it is the country, þæt land, which is hard to travel through.

o) 21. **Cf.** (f) above. A race of men whom we call Donestre, quasi divinum (Tiberius divine), in the English the final words are taken with the next sentence, describing the deformities of the people, who become like 'diviners' or 'sooth-sayers': geweaxene swa frihteras (Vitellius frifteras).

p) 22. et tegunt se his auribus. Leve et candido corpore sunt quasi lacteo. Leve, doubtless meaning 'smooth', is taken with the preceding description of the big ears in the translation, beoð þa earan swiðe leohte, and hy beoð on lichoman..., and the sense is changed to 'light' = not heavy', or possibly 'bright'.

q) 28. Alexander the Great killed a beastly kind of women pro sua obscenitate. In the translation they are killed for their size, hyra micelnesse; micelnesse is best taken as a miscopying of unclennesse, as suggested by E. V. Gordon (Y.W.E.S. 1924, p. 69).

Sisam (p. 81) recommends that in section 11, where Nilus est caput fluviorum is rendered Seo Nil is ealdor fullicra (fallicra Vitellius) ea, the text be emended to eallicra. Since, however, fullicra = 'universal', 'catholic' is cited in the dictionaries and supported by other readings than this, the change is unnecessary. The evidence of (q) is the only indication, though it suffices, that the common ancestor of the extant texts was not the original translation. It is not impossible that the corruptions of (n), (o), and (p) were present in or directly caused by the Latin used by the translator.

The translator seldom departs from Mirabilia, and when he does it is to add some short comment or explanation. Such is his remark about the strange hens in þæt syndon ungefrægelicu liblac (3) and the same phrase appears in 4. In 9 and 18 he explains that the Homodubii are twimen and twylice, and in 10 that the river Gorgoneus means wælkyrging, i.e. 'valkyrie'. No doubt his familiarity with the Bible, in the same passage helped him to turn 'locusts' into the more intelligible græshoppan. In 20 balsamum becomes balsamum, se deorweorðesta ele; in 21 the Donestre 'sit' while they weep over the heads of their victims; in 27 the tigers and leopards kept for hunting are called þa cenestan deor; in 35 the bald statement about the phoenix's nest, nidum habet de cinnamomo is paraphrased as and hyra nest hi wyrcað of ðam deorweorðestan wyrtgemangum þe man cinnamomum hateð. In 23 the translator reshapes the rather dry quorum

oculi sicut lucerna lucent as þara eagan scinað swa leohte swa man micel blacern onele on þeostre nihte.

The translation was, then, for the most part faithful. Of its stylistic and literary qualities there is little to say; it has been called 'crude or ordinary' (Wrenn, Study of Old English Literature 1967, p. 254) and the list of prodigies is 'rather boringly detailed' (Greenfield, Critical History of Old English Literature 1966, p. 64). No one feels the justice of these statements more than I. But it must be said in fairness that the translator was dealing with intractable material. Without recasting the Mirabilia from first to last, who could have done better? Silk purses are not made from sows' ears, and when James refers to Mirabilia as a 'collection of absurdities which I am rescuing from a perhaps merited oblivion' (p. 9) he says as much as need be said in the translator's defence. A subject like this is open to absurdities which do not appear to be such, and neither the translator, nor the later scribes involved in the transmission of Mirabilia should be censured for writing, what we, armed with a battery of comparative material, know to be a perversion. Every page is littered with distortions against which the unknowing reader has no defence, and in 1925 Garrad was able to write with understandable equanimity that there is 'little in the nature of a crux in either text' (Foreword). A modern editor must feel that at times he is confronted by a mirage, and if he attempts to restore the Mirabilia-Wonders in its hypothetical form he can only create a text which never existed in Anglo-Saxon England.

Language

The forms have been minutely recorded by Knappe (pp. 22-42), who incorporates the errors in his transcription, though they do not vitiate the general conclusions. Garrad also devotes more than forty pages to a grammatical and phonological analysis. The linguistic forms of both manuscripts are generally Late West Saxon, with an admixture of dialect characteristics, mostly Anglian, such as the uncontracted third person singular indicative in many verbs, and in

where on would be expected. Seab in section 19 is an Anglian word. These indicate that the common ancestor of the two copies had a dialect colouring. On the whole this has been better preserved in Vitellius, and Sisam has shown that in Tiberius certain readings have been changed and 'improved', e.g. in10 getigaþ (Vitellius gesælaþ) = 'they tether' where gesælaþ would be abnormal in West Saxon[9]. Knappe concluded that the language of the original translation was perhaps Anglian (p. 41) and Sisam cautiously implies the same (pp. 82-83, 94). Garrad's remarks on this matter are not wholly consistent: 'we seem to look away from Alfred's dialect' (p. 11) and yet he argues for a southern origin in a broad band from Buckinghamshire to Devon, and later admits that 'the area west of a line drawn through the Wash to London and south of a line through the Wash to Anglesey is perhaps not impossible' (p. 26).

Illustrations and script

The pictures in Tiberius, of which those in Bodley are neat but spiritless twins, show real artistic merit. The lay-out was evidently considered carefully, the execution is diligent and dignified, and it is hardly surprising that the work has been compared with the best products of the Winchester School in the tenth century. In contrast the series in Vitellius, which cannot derive from the other, is crude, cramped, and often unintentionally comic. Yet it could not have been made quickly, and it attests the importance placed on the illustrations. Neither James nor Sisam has been able to assign a place of origin to these designs, and they have never received the expert attention they need. Garrad has, however, surveyed a great deal of comparative material (pp. 10-11, 20-24) and some of his observations are too valuable to omit. The Vitellius pictures, though crude, are not of necessity early. The probability is that they were not executed in one of the great artistic centres such as Winchester or Canterbury, assuming, as one must, that text and illustrations were made in the same place as each other. Yet the ribbed sleeves and wrinkled, crossed-hose common in native work in the second half of the tenth century are found in the drawings of the camel driver (f.101r) and the men without heads (f.102v). In Tiberius Garrad detects the influence of continental schools during the Ottonian Renaissance on the Liberty caps, the

buildings ('a hint of Byzantium'), and on the faces 'with their staring eyes' which seem Semitic or Mongolian. The dress is English, and we find a king with an English crown (f.85v). The dress and draperies flutter in an unreal way as in the late tenth century native style, although 'the nervous line is gone'. The figures are sometimes humped, they gesticulate with large hands, and their ankles and feet are too big. The overall resemblance to the pictures of Winchester and Canterbury is undeniable, but it is not very close. Moreover, despite the influence of late style on such superficial decoration, these illustrations are presumably based in essentials on much earlier pictures in Mirabilia. I do not believe that it was not illustrated until the late tenth century, and the textual tradition is against it.

The handwriting of each scribe in Vitellius has been examined almost down to the last hair-line, yet neither has been found in other manuscripts. By a stroke of ~~the~~ good fortune Garrad discovered that the hand in Tiberius is almost identical with that in an eleventh century copy of the Gospels in Pembroke College, Cambridge: (302 in M. R. James' Catalogue 1905). The book came from Hereford, and one would give much to know if it were made there. I have found no evidence; the possibilities are legion.

Dating and Provenance

Evidence of any substance has not yet come to light, and yet it is possible to argue a tentative theory from small clues. The elusive connexion between the text of Mirabilia in its earlier form and the Liber Monstrorum (see Appendix B) is perhaps a sign that such a work was in England by the eighth century, and possibly earlier, since it was used by the writer of the Liber, who may have been an Anglo-Saxon. Sisam, (p. 76) has shown that the author of Mirabilia employs a strange construction, 'civitatem cui nomen est Archemedon, quae maxima est ad Babiloniam', (Section 2). The idiom with ad is not Latin at all. Sisam says that he could not find it elsewhere and that 'others better equipped' have not found it. Neither have I. The idiom is English and it is well attested in various texts of different date and origin, besides the translation of this passage, sio is mæst to Babilonia burh.

Sisam writes, quite properly, that 'unless this idiom can be produced from Late Latin texts free from English influence, the inference is that Mirabilia was compiled by an Anglo-Saxon whose simple Latin was influenced by his native idiom.' In both manuscripts the phrase has been glossed by way of explanation or correction, i excepto babilonia, and one must suppose that it was seen to be awkward. None of the related versions in the tradition has a reading at all similar.

These clues must, however, be reconciled with the fact that in Mirabilia reckoning in leagues runs beside that in stadia, for as long as the itinerary pretence is maintained. There are no leagues in Fermes and no measurements at all in Premonis; the French has only leagues, presumably having suppressed the stadia. Why should an Englishman make these elaborate conversions into leagues? They were not, so far as I can ascertain, a unit of measurement common to the English. We know from Ammianus Marcellinus, writing at the end of the fourth century, that leuga or leuca was a Gaulish word; it is found in Gregory of Tours (540-594), and Isidore writes 'mensuras viarum nos miliarum dicimus, Graeci stadia, Galli leugas....' (Etymologiarum XV,16). The word appears oddly in our manuscripts. Bodley has leugas consistently and Tiberius leuuas, while in Vitellius the English form is leones and in Tiberius leuua. Leones, probably from an earlier leoues, leads one to suppose the Vitellius scribe did not understand its meaning. Indeed 'league' was a rare word until the early Middle English period. I consider, therefore, that the architypal Mirabilia was compiled on the Continent at an early date (seventh century?), that it soon arrived in England, where there was some native influence on its idiom, but perhaps no more drastic change than a progressive debasement in transmission. In many respects the Old French version represents the early form of the Mirabilia, and it was presumably translated from a text that remained on the Continent. The entire corpus of the paradoxographic tradition points to such unstable transmission that categorical pronouncements about its chronology and history are not defensible.

The English translation can only be dated within fairly wide limits. The divergence between the two copies is an indication that their common ancestor can hardly be later than c.950, but the original translation was some decades before that. Sisam assigns it to the

period 'beginning with Alfred and ending with Athelstan' (p. 82), i.e. about 870-940, and this is a reasonable assessment, though the date could have been earlier. Neither language nor the pictures is a very definite aid in determining this or the place where the translation was made.

1. See M. Förster, 'Zur altenglischen Mirabilien-Version.' Archiv CXVII, 1906, 367-370, in which he places the Mirabilia in a line of writing from Antiquity to the Renaissance.

2. It is, for example, typical that so erudite a scholar as James only became aware of Faral's paper of 1914 after the greater part of his own book had been set up and printed.

3. See G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collection II, 1921, 162.

4. The best general account of Gervase and the Otia is H. G. Richardson, 'Gervase of Tilbury.' History XLVI, 1961, 102-114.

5. The exception is the reading 'percusserint' in section 7; so Bodley, Fermes, and Premonis. Tiberius has '-unt'.

6. The identification, first suggested by Omont on the evidence of Aelius Spartianus, is generally accepted: The recipient of Premonis is addressed as Trajan, but Hadrian, to whom Fermes is addressed, was probably meant (see Faral, p. 202).

7. The best edition and discussion is M. Förster, 'Das lateinisch-altenglische Fragment der Apokryphe von Jamnes und Mambres', Archiv CVIII, 1902, 15-28.

8. Sead occurs in Wonders, section 19. The elliptical construction occurs in Wonders, section 11, londbunes, Locotheo hatte, and in

Tiberius only in section 35 twice, sum dun Aðamans hatte and oðer fugelkynn, fenix hatte. See Bosworth and Toller, Supplement, hatan (1), where two similar examples are cited from the Old English Orosius.

9. Vitellius has eosel consistently and Tiberius falls in with this Anglian usage, except in one isolated instance (7) where assa supplants it. In 25 saragimmas = margaritae seems to be modernised in Tiberius, swylce meregrota oððe gymmas. Other variations such as 10 hrædlice/swifte are perhaps to be similarly explained, for in 22 both texts have hrædlice and the rest of the clause is almost identical.

I have omitted any discussion of the forms swæ and nænig mentioned by Sisam, p. 73. Swæ as a guide to dialect is not reliable, and nænig (manuscript nænine) occurs in a corrupt part of Vitellius. There are too many possible explanations for these forms to be of any help.

An Edition of the Mirabilia, the Old English Translation, and the Old French Letter of Perimenis.

I have explained in the Preface why a new edition of the three versions is desirable. In order that the text may be readable, modernised punctuation has been added, abbreviations are expanded silently, and accents are omitted. Minor variants in spelling such as caput / capud, and in usage such as in / on, gelice / onlice, synd / beoð are not recorded. Something has certainly been lost by this manner of presentation, and the individual characteristics of the Tiberius Wonders are almost gone from view. Yet this was inevitable if the principal aim of providing a comprehensible text was to be achieved. I came increasingly to feel that the relationships between the Mirabilia and the translation and the Old French, and the common unity of what is in them, would only be obscured by a dense critical apparatus. If that had been given in extenso, with an account of the errors of previous editors and of the burnt margins of Vitellius, the edition would have been three times as long as it is now.

The text of Mirabilia is taken from Tiberius B V, and that of the Wonders from Vitellius A XV. Words in brackets are supplied from Bodley 614 for the Latin, and from Tiberius B V for the English. Substantive variants, errors, and omissions in Bodley and in the Tiberius English are set beneath the text. Where any change is made from the base manuscripts, it should be understood, unless otherwise shown, that the readings derive from Bodley or from the Tiberius English. The French has been treated in a conservative way; it is given in its entirety but the order of some sections has been altered, that they may be seen in juxtaposition to the Mirabilia and Wonders in which the order is known to be disturbed. The numbering of the sections which has been used since Cockayne's time, is based on the lay-out of Tiberius B V. The proper order, as was shown before, is 1-17, 26-33, 18-25, 34-36. Since the manuscript of the French is not readily available, I have noted changes here from Hilka's printing of it. His printed accents have been entirely omitted as they are not in the manuscript.

The notes deal chiefly with cruxes and corruptions. The illustrations have been adequately described by James and Malone, the latter confining himself to those in Vitellius. Although the illustrations have necessarily been omitted here, it must be stressed that they are an

integral part of the whole, and that in England much of the appeal of the Mirabilia and Wonders must have lain in the pictures.

One does not easily retain an impression of the Mirabilia-Wonders as a literary document, for its true unit is a brief paragraph describing some marvellous place, human creature, monster, or plant. Despite a kind of patterning in the recurrence of place names and in the mensuration, the connexion between one part and the next is often minimal. There is no memorable sequence or progression. A resumé of the contents of each section will therefore not be superfluous; measurements are omitted.

1. An island colony with many sheep.
2. The colony has many merchants; there are sheep as big as oxen, and the great monuments which Alexander caused to be made.
3. Lentibelsinea, on the way to the Red Sea, where the hens burn if they are touched.
4. Beasts that flee from man. They have eight feet, 'valkyrie' eyes and two heads, and are hostile.
5. Hascellentia, a land full of good things.
6. Serpents with two heads whose eyes shine like lights at night.
7. Asses with huge horns and the Corsias with horns like rams. There are many snakes in a place where peppers are abundant. Men fire the place, the snakes go underground and the pepper can be collected, though it is black. Another place is barren due to the large number of snakes.
8. The cynocephali called conopenas who have a horse's mane, boar's tusks and fiery breath. There is a rich city.
9. Men with beards to their knees and hair to their ankles; they are called homodubii, and live on raw fish.
10. Ants who inhabit land across the river Capi are as big as dogs. They dig up gold, but intrepid men take male and female camels with them leaving the young behind; when they have the gold they mount the mares which hasten back so quickly that they seem to fly. The ants, meanwhile, are preoccupied with the male camels.

11. A colony called Locotheo between the rivers Nile and Brixontes. The Nile is the head of all rivers and is called Archobleta, 'a great water'. Many elephants are born hereabouts.

12. Tall men with white bodies, two faces on one head, red knees, long noses and black hair. They go to India to reproduce.

13. Ciconia has creatures of three colours, lion-headed and with mouths like fans. If they see anyone they flee and sweat blood. They are thought to be men.

14. Huge black men called Hostes, with enormous limbs, who eat the men they catch.

15. The Lertices, creatures with asses' ears, sheeps' wool and birds' feet.

16. Headless men with their eyes and mouth in their breasts, eight feet tall and eight wide.

17. Long snakes (or dragons) as big as pillars. Men cannot pass because of them.

18. The homodubii, who are human to the waist and then formed of animal parts. When they see men they flee far away.

19. Barbaric men with many kings under them. There are two pools, one of the sun and the other of the moon; that of the sun is cold at night and hot in the day, while that of the moon is cold by day and hot in the night.

20. Trees like the laurel and olive which bear balm.

21. On an island in the Red Sea the Donestre live. They are partly human, partly deformed. They can speak languages, and by their blandishments they deceive men whom they eat up save for the head, over which they weep.

22. Tall men with big heads and fan-like ears between which they sleep. Their bodies are as white as milk. They flee from men so swiftly that they seem to fly.

23. An island race of men whose eyes shine like lamps.

24. Heliopolis, the temple served by the priest. (Very corrupt).

25. A golden vine with large berries that produce precious stones.

26. An area with a great mountain. The men there are noble and they govern the Red Sea. Gems are produced here.

27. Bearded women dressed in pelts who are avid hunters and use wild beasts as dogs.

28. Women with boars' tusks, hair to their ankles, and tails. Their bodies are white as marble, their feet are like camel feet, and their teeth are boar-like. Alexander killed them because of their vileness.

29. The Catini, very fine creatures, and men who live on raw meat and honey.

30. Hospitable kings who have tyrants under them. There are many kings.

31. A kindly, long-lived people, who present wives to those who come to them. Alexander was surprised by their humanity and would not harm them.

32. Trees from which precious stones grow.

33. A very black race of men, the Ethiopians.

34. A vine and an enormous ivory couch.

35. Mount Adamans where the griffon lives; it has four feet, an ox's tail and the head of a lion. The phoenix in its nest of cinnamon; after a thousand years it burns itself and rises from the ashes.

36. Another mountain where there are black men who cannot be reached as the mountain is burning.

1

Colonia est initium ab Antimolima quia habet stadia numero quingenta, que faciunt leugas trecentas sexaginta octo. Quae insula habet multitudinem ouium. Et inde ad Babiloniam stadia sunt centum sexaginta octo numero, quae faciunt leugas (C et XV).

2 trecenta; 2,4, leuuas passim, not noted hereafter; T
1 Colononia , numero omitted; B

Seo landbuend on fruman from Antimolima þæm lande, þæs landes is on gerime þæs læssan milgetæles þe stadia hatte fif hund, and þæs miclan (milgetæles) þe leuua hatte þreo hund and eahta and LX. On þæm ealande bið micel mænegeo sceapa. And þanon is to Babilonian þæs læssan milgetæles stadia hundteontig and eahta and LX, and þæs miclan milgetæles þe leuua hatte fiftyne and hundteontig.

5 Antimolime; 6,9, stadio and 7,11, leones , the latter passim, not noted hereafter; V
5 þam landum; 9 Babilonia; 10 milgetæles omitted; T

Haus empereres, je vous senefiie aucunes coses qui sont merveilleuses en Inde. Premierement il i a une isle qui a non Atymolimus qui a III C et LXIII liues de lonc. Et i croist moult de brebis. Et de la jusques en Babilone a C et XII liues.

14 Hilka Acymolimus ; t and c are often indistinguishable.

2

Haec colonia est maxime negotiatorum, ubi nascuntur berbices magnitudine boum habitantes usque ad Medorum ciuitatem, cui nomen est Archemedon que maxima est ad Babiloniam. Inde sunt stadia ad Babiloniam numero CCC, que faciunt leugas CC ab Archemedone. Ibi sunt illa magna insignia que magnus Alexander operari iusserat. Quae terra habet in longitudine et latitudine stadia numero CC, quae faciunt leugas CXXXIII et dimidium miliarium.

3 Above ad Babiloniam both manuscripts have i. excepto Babilonia.
7 leugas CXXIII ; B

Seo londbunis is swyðust cypemonnum geseted, þær beoð weðras acenned on oxna micelnesse þa buað oð Meda burh ; þære burge nama is Archemedon. Sio is mæst to Babilonia burh. Þonon syndon (to Babilonia) þæs læssan milgetæles stadia CCC and þæs maran þe leuua hatte CC from Archemedon. Þær syndon þa miclan mærða þæt syndon þa weorc þe se micla Macedonisca Alexander het gewyrcan. Þæt land is on lenge and on brǽde CC þæs læssan milgetæles stadia, and þæs miclan þe leuua hatte CXXXIII and (an) healf mil.

9 ceremonnum; 14 Alexsander; 16 CXXX; V
12 Babilonia in þæs; 15 on bræde ðæs læssan milgetæles ðe stadia hatte CC ; T

Et les brebis de chele isle sunt ossi grans qu'est uns buef. Et moult est markaande, de cheste isle dusques a une chite de Mede qui a non Arcemedon qui est boine chites. Et dusques en Babilone a II C liues. Et de la dusques a Athaines le grant Alixandre, CXXXIII liues et pres de la le moitie d'une mille (naissent ...

21 dusque Hilka

3

Est locus euntibus ad Mare Rubrum qui dicitur Lentibelsinea, in quibus galline nascuntur quales apud nos rubicundo colore. Has, cum aliquis adprehendere voluerit, manum suam quam tetigerit totumque corpus conburit.

Sum stow is ⌈þa⌋ mon fereð to þære Readan Sæ ; seo is haten Lentibelsinea, (on) þæm beoð henna acenned onlice þonne þe mid us beoð reades heowes. Gif hi hwylc man niman wile oþþe him o æthrineð þonne forbærnað hy sona eal his lic ; þæt syndon ungefrægelicu liblac.

6 on ðan, gelice ðam þe ; 7 And gyf hi hlyc , oðde hyra æthrineð ; T

mille) naissent gelines de tes couleurs que les nostres, et li lieus ou eles naissent est apeles Lentibel de Surie et est en le voie qui va a le Rouge Mer. Et quiconques prenderoit une de ches guelines a sa main, tous ses cors arderoit, car eles sont envenimees.

10 ⌈La⌋ naissent Hilka

4

Preterea ibi bestie nascuntur. Hae cum sonum audierint hominum statim fugiunt. Pedes habent octenos, oculos habent gorgoneos, bina capita habent. Si quis eas voluerit adprehendere, corpora sua inarmant.

3 both manuscripts eos for eas

1 bestiole ; 2 oculos autem gorgoneos ; B

Eac þonne þær beoð wildeor acenned. Þa deor þonne hy mannes stefne gehyrað, þonne rað[illegible]hi fleoð. Þa deor habbað eahta fet and wælcyrian eagan and twa heafdu. Gif him hwylc mon onfon wille þonne hiera lichoman þæt hy onælað ; þæt syndon þa ungefrægelicu deor.

6 þonne fleoð hy feor ; 9 ðeor ; V

5 Eac swa ðær ; 7 Gyf hi hwylc mann gefon wile, þonne gewræðað hy sona grimlice ongen ; þæt ... ; T

Apres il i naist bestes ossi que singes qui ont VIII pies et [iax] ossi [que] de femme, et II testes, et s'en fuient loins quant eles oent aucun son. Et quant on les veut prendre, eles en arment leur cors a leur pooir, si sont fors a avoir.

13 leurs Hilka

5

Hascellentia (regio) Babiloniam proficiscentibus habet stadia IX, quae subiacet regionibus Medorum omnibus bonis plena.

Hascellentia regio,que subiacet regionibus Medorum omnibus bonis plena, Babiloniam proficiscentibus habent stadia IX; B

Hascellentia hatte þæt land, þonne mon to Babilonia færð, þæt is þonne ðæs læssan milgetæles þe stadia hatte IX mila lang and brad, þæt bueð oð Meda rice. Þæt land is eallum godum gefylled.

Omitted entirely in V

Apres de Seleucie jusques a Babilone a entour IX estades, et chele ter[r]e habunde en tous biens et est par desous Medie.

8 terre Hilka

6

Hic locus serpentes habet, capita bina habentes, quorum oculi nocte sicut lucerne lucent.

Þeos stow hafaþ nædran. Þa nædran habbaþ twa heafdu, þara eagan scinaþ nihtes swa leohte swa blæcern.

3 Þeos steow næddran hafaþ ; T

Et i a serpens qui ont II testes, et leur oeil luisent de nuit comme candelles.

7

Nascuntur et ibi onagri cornua boum habentes forma maxima. Hi in dextera parte a Babilonia ducunt se in occulto ad Mare Rubrum propter serpentes qui in illis locis nascuntur, qui vocantur corsias, habentes cornua similia arietibus. Hii quem percusserint moritur. Ubi nascitur abundantia piperis quod serpentes servant sua industria. Hoc piper sic tollunt, incendunt ea loca et serpentes sub terram fugiunt, ideo nigrum est piper. A Babilonia usque Persiam ciuitatem ubi nascitur piper, stadia sunt DCCC quae faciunt leugas DCXX et dimidium miliarium. Loca illa sterilia sunt propter multitudinem serpentium.

5 percusserunt ; T

7 ideoque niger ; B

On sumon lande eoselas beoþ acende þa habbaþ swa micle hornas swa oxan ; þa syndon on þære mæstan westene þæt is on þa suð healfe from Babiloniam þa buaþ to þæm Readan Sæ, for þara nædrena mænego þe in þæm stowum beoþ þa hatton corsias. Þa habbaþ swa micle hornas swa weðeras. Gif hy hwilcne man sleaþ oþþe a æthrineð þonne swylteð he sona. On þam landum biþ pipores genihtsumnis. Þone pipor healdaþ þa næddran on heora geornnesse. Þone pipor mon swa nimeð þæt mon þa stowe mid fyre onæleð, and þa nædran þonne of dune on þa eorþan þæt fleoð,for þon se pipor biþ sweart. From Babiloniam oð Persiam þa burh þar se pipor weaxeð is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia hatte eahta hund mila; of þæm is geteald þæs miclan milgeteles þe leuua hatte VI hund and XXIII and an healf mil. Seo stow is unwæstmberenlicu for þara nædrena mænego.

13 wæstme; 19 geneornesse; V

12 assan for eoselas; 17 a omitted; 18 þone pipor þa næddran healdaƀ on hyra geornfulnysse ; 20 and þonne ƀa næddran of dune on eorƀan þæt hi fleoƀ ; T

Apres la naissent asne sauvage qui ont cornes ôssi que de buef et sunt moult grant. Et se traient en le darraine partie d'Arrabe vers les lieus repus sur le Rouge Mer pour les serpens qui naissent la et ont a non confia. Et chil ont cornes sanlavles as cornes de mouton. Et se chis serpens fiert aucun homme il morra tantost. Et la naist li poivres en habundanche, lequel li serpent wardent par grant diligence. Et de la le wardent li homme, que il ne perdent le poivre pour les serpens, et i boutent le fu et li serpent s'en fuient desous terre. Et on kuelle le poivre qui pour le fu est noirs. Et de Babilone ou li poivres naist jusques a Perse la chite a LXXIIII liues. Et entre deus a terres brehagnes pour le multitude des serpens.

27 bues Hilka, and possibly the manuscript; 34 il ne le perdent Hilka silently omits le which is underdotted for correction; 35 (et)i boutent Hilka,delete brackets.

8

Similiter ibi nascuntur cenocephali quos nos conopenas appellamus, habentes iubas equorum aprorum dentes canina capita ignem et flammam flantes. Hic est ciuitas vicina dives omnibus bonis plena; dexteriore parte ducitur illa terra ab Aegypto.

1 conopoenas; T 2 aprum ; B

Eac swylce þær beoƀ cende healfhundingas þa syndon hatene conopenas. Hy habbaƀ horses mana and eoferes tuxas and hunda heafdu and heora oroƀ biƀ swylce fyres leg. Þas land beoƀ neah þæm burgum þe beoƀ eallum worldwelum gefylled þæt is on þa suƀ healfe Egyptana landes.

7 conopoenas; 9 on þa omitted; T

Et la naissent cenophale qui ont testes de kien et ont alainnes de flamme. Et la est une chites rike.

9

In alia (regione) nascuntur homines statura pedum VI, barbas habentes usque ad genua comas usque ad talos. Qui homodubii appellantur, et pisces crudos manducant.

1 Naliqua nascuntur; T

On sumon lande beoð men acende þa beoð on lenge syx fotmæla (lange). Hi habbað beardas oþ cneow side and feax oð helan. Homodubii hy syndon hatene, þæt beoð twimen, and be hreawum fixum hy lifiað and þa etaþ.

5 of cneow; 6 bioð twylice; T

En lequele naissent homme qui n'ont que II pies de lonc, et leur pendent leur barbes jusques as genous. On les apele hommeles, et menguent les poissons tous crus lesquels il prendent en le riviere de Cabes.

10

Capi (vocatur) fluvius in eodem loco (qui) appellatur gorgoneus. Ibi nascuntur formice statura canum, habentes pedes quasi locuste, rubro colore nigroque, fodientes aurum. Et quod per noctem fodiunt sub terra profertur foras usque diei horam quintam. Homines autem qui audaces sunt illud tollere. Sic tollunt : (accipiunt) camelos masculos et feminas, illas quae habent foetas. Foetas autem trans flumen gargulum alligatos reliquunt et camelis foeminis aurum inponunt. Ille autem pietate ad suos pullos festinantes, ibi masculi remanent et ille formicae sequentes inveniunt eos masculos et comedunt eos. Dum circa autem eos occupate sunt, foemine transeunt flumen cum (auro et) hominibus. Sunt autem tam veloces ut putes eos volare.

6 tollent aput camelos ; T

6 illas omitted; 7 habent fetus. Qui ad flumen predictum pervenientes, fetus trans flumen alligatos relinqunt et ipsi cum camelis fluvium transseunt, et auro collecto camelis feminis illud inponunt. Illis autem ...festinantibus 10 inveniunt eos et comedunt. Dum autem circa... ; B

Capi hatte seo ea in þære ilcan stowe þe is haten gorgoneus, þæt is wælkyrging. Þær beoð cende æmetan swa micle swa hundas. Hy habbaþ (fet) swelce swa græshoppan, hy syndon reades heowes and blaces heowes. Þa æmettan delfað gold up of eorþan from foran nihte oð ða fiftan tid dæges. Þa men þe to þon dyrstige beoð þæt hi þæt gold nimen, þonne lædað hy mid him olfendan, meran mid hyra folan and stedan. Þa folan hy gesælað ær hy ofer þa ea faren. Þæt gold hi gefætað on þa meran and hy sylfe onsittað and þa stedan þær forlætað. Þonne þa æmettan hy onfindað and þa hwile þe þa æmettan embe þa stedan abysgode beoð, þonne þa men mid þam meran and mid þam golde ofer þa ea fareð. Hy beoð swa hrædlice ofer þære ea þæt men wenað þæt hy fleogan.

21 hio gefætað ; 23 þone stedan ; 24 þam merun ; V 16 swa omitted; 17 heowes omitted; 19 þonne nimað hi; 20 hi getigað ær; 24 second mid omitted; 25 Hi beoð to þam swifte þæt ða men wenað þæt hi fleogende syn.; T

le riviere de Cabes). En chele isle naiscent fourmi de grant estature comme sont kien, et ont VI pies comme lacustes de mer, et sont de noire couleur. Et fouent l'or et traient de ter[r]e jusques a le quinte heure du jour. Et li homme qui ont hardieche de chel or prendre font ensi : il prendent cameus masles et femeles lesqueles ont petis cameus, et laissent les petis cameus bien lies outre une riviere lequel a non gargalo, et metent les meres outre le riviere en le terre ou li ors est, et les karkent de chel or. Et eles par l'amour qu'eles ont a leur petis cameus, passent le riviere pour aler a aus atout chel or, et li camel masle demeurent avoec les hommes. Et li fourmi keurent sus as cameus masles et les menguent; et u tamps que li fourmi sunt en chele occupacion, li homme passent avoec les cameus femeles qui portent l'or. Et tant sont hastives qu'il sanle car eles volent.

28 et ont.... de mer omitted by Hilka ; 30 terre Hilka ; 33 lies v outre with v underdotted ; Hilka silently omits.

11

Inter duas has amnes colonia est Locothea,quae inter Nilum et Brixontem posita est. Nam Nilus est capud fluviorum, et per Aegiptum fluit, quam Aegipti Archoboleta vocant, quae est aqua magna. In his locis nascitur multitudo magna elephantorum.

1 Above colonia is written habitatio ; T

Betwih þysson twam ean is londbunis Locotheo hatte, þæt is betwih Nile and Bryxontes geseted. Seo Nil is ealdor fullicra ea and heo flowed of Egypta lande, and hi nemnad þa ea Archoboleta þæt is haten þæt micle wæter. On þyssum (stowum) beod acende þa miclan mænego olfenda.

6 fallicra ; V

7 heo fared of Egyptna lande ; 9 menigeo ylpenda ; T

Entre ches II isles u voies est une terre qui est apelee Lochee u Iochee, qui est entre le fleuve Nile et Brixont qui sont rivieres desqueles on ne puet trouver les commenchemens. Et voirs est que Brixont kiet u Nile que li Egyptiien apelent Arviobolet, ch'est a dire grant iaue. Et la habite grant foisons d'olifans.

13 Egyptiienc or Egyptiient , not noted by Hilka.

12

Nascuntur et ibi homines habentes staturam pedum XV, corpus habentes candidum, duas in una habentes capite facies, rubra genua, naso longo, capillis nigris. Cum tempus gignendi fuerit, suis navibus transferuntur in Indiam et ibi prolem reddunt.

1 statura ; 4 sùis manibus ; T

4 suis manibus ; B

Dær beod cende men - hy beod fiftyne fota lange and hy habbad hwit lic and twa neb on anum heafde, fet and cneowu swyde reade and lange nosa and sweart feax. Þonne hy cennan willad þonne farad hy on scipum to Indeum, and þær hyra gecynda in world bringaþ.

7 heafde :et ; V

7 heafde bid þæt cneo ; 9 on scipum omitted; þær omitted;

10 brīngad ; T

Et la naiscent homme qui ont XII pies de lonc et les cors blans et visages partikes, s'ont les genous et les pies tous nus, et lons nes et noires espaules. Et en aucun tamps il passent en nes un fleuve qui a non Ydees, selonc leur coustume.

13

Item [in] Ciconia in Gallia nascuntur homines tripartito colore, quorum capita capita leonum, (longi) pedibus XX, ore amplissimo sicut vannum. Hominem cum cognoverint aut si quis persequatur, longe fugiunt et sanguine sudent. Hi putantur homines fuisse.

1 Liconia ; T and B.

Ciconia in Gallia hatte þæt land þær beoð men acende on, ðrys heowes, þara heafdu beoð gemonu swa leona heafdu, and hi beoð XX fota lange, and hy habbað micelne muð swæ fon. Gyf (hi) hwylcne monnan on þæm landum ongitað oððe geseoþ oððe him hwilc man folgiende biþ, þonne feor hi fleoð and blode hy swætað. Þas beoð men gewende.

6 on drys ; 10 feor þæt hi ; V

6 Liconia, acenned þreosellices hiwes ; 9 ongitað oððe him hwylc folligende... ; 10 þonne feorriað hi and fleoð and blode þæt hi swætað ; T

Apres en une region qui a non Galle en lequele naiscent [homme] tripaire qui ont testes de lion et XIIII pies de lonc, et ont si grant gueule qu'il i porroit bien un van. S'il voient hommes qui les sieuent, il fuient bien loins et suent sanc. On les apele ypotames.

12 naissent Hilka.

14

Trans Brixontem flumen ad orientem nascuntur homines longi et magni, habentes foemora et surras XII pedum, latera cum pectore VII pedum, colore nigro. Quos Hostes rite appellamus, nam quoscumque capiunt comedunt.

1 Tras ; T

4 Ham quoscumque capiunt cito comedunt ; B

Begeondan Brixonte þære ea east þonon beoð men acende lange and micle, þa habbað fet and sconcan XII fota lange, sidan mid breostum seofon fota lange. (Hi beoð sweartes hiwes, and) Hostes hy synd nemned cuþlice. Swa hwylcne man swa hy gelæccað þonne fretað hi hyne.

8 and hi syndan Hostes nemde. Cuðlice...; 9 gefoð for gelæccað; T

Apres outre Brixont le fleuve, dont nous avons parle, naiscent homme lonc et grant qui ont longues gambes et longues cuisses tant qu'il ont XII pies de lonc, et par le pis et par les costes III pies de le. Et sont noir. On les apele Hostes, ch'est a dire anemis, car tous chiaus qu'il prendent il menguent.

15

Sunt et alie bestiolae in Brixonte quae lertices appellantur, auribus asininis, vellere ovino,pedibus avium.

1 apellatur; 2 ovum for avium; T
1 appellatur; B

Ðonne seondon (on Brixonte) wildeor þa hatton lertices. Hy habbað eoseles earan and sceapes wulle and fugeles fet.

Et en le riviere de Brixont a autres besteletes qui ont a non celestices.

16

Est et alia insula in Brixonte ad meridiem in qua nascuntur homines sine capitibus, qui in pectore habent oculos et os; alti sunt pedum VIII et lati simili modo pedum VIII.

3 lati similiter pedum ; B

Þonne is oðer ealond suð from Brȳxonte on þam beoð (menn akende) buton heafdum ; þa habbað on hyra breostum heora eagan and muð. Hy seondon eahta fota lange and eahta fota brade.

4 Þonne syndon oþere ealond.... on þon beoð ; V
5 hyra omitted; T

Apres en le riviere de Brixonte a une isle vers le miedi en lequele il naiscent homme qui n'ont nient de teste, et ont boukes en leur pis et les iex ossi, et ont IIII pies de haut et IIII de le, et ressanlent as ypotames. On les apele u pais epiphongos.

17

Nascuntur et ibi dracones longitudinem habentes CL pedum vastitudine columnarum. Propter multitudinem draconum (illorum) nemo facile adire potest trans flumen.

2 multitudinem vero draconum; B

Ðar beoð (dracan) cende, þa beoð on lenge hundteontiges fotmæla lange and fiftiges. Hy beoð greate swa stænene sweras micle . For þara dracena micelnesse ne mæg nan manna yþelice on þæt land gefaran.

4 hundteotige ; V
5 fotmæla and fiftiges lange and beoð ; 6 micelnysse nænig mann naht eaðelice on þæt land gefaran mæg.; T

Apres en chele meisme isle naissent dragon qui ont C et L pies de lonc, ossi gros que piler. Et nus ne puet la legierement aler pour le multitude des dragons.

18

Post hunc locum alia est regio(in)dexteriore parte oceani, (habens) stadia CCCXXIII, quae faciunt leugas CCLIII et miliarium unum. Ubi nascuntur homodubii qui usque ad umbilicum hominis speciem habent, reliquo corpore onagro similes, longis cruribus ut aves lena voce. Sed hominem cum viderint longe fugiunt.

1 est regio oceano dexteriore parte; 2 leuuas CCLVI;
5 longis pedibus; T
1 occeani ; 5 longis omitted; B

From þisse stowe is oðer rice on þa suð healfe (þæs) garsecges, þæt is geteald þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia hatte CCC and þreo and twentig, and þæs miclan þe leuua hatte CCLIII and an mil. Þær beoð cende homodubii,þæt beoð (twylice). Hy beoð oð ðone nafolan on menniscum gesceape and syþþan on eoseles gelicnesse, and hy habbað longe sconcan swa fugelas and liþelice stefne. Gif hy hwilcne man on þæm landum ongytað oððe geseoð þonne fleoð hy feor.

8 garsegcges; 9 CCC and XXXIII ; 11 Hy habbaþ oð ; V
8 þe omitted; 9 hatte omitted before CCC; 10 CCLII, And þær beoð; 11 oð ðene ; 12 eoseles gescape. Hi habbað
14 þonne feorriað hi and fleoð ; T

Apres sur le grant mer a dextre par l'espasse de CC et LIII liues et I mille est une regions en /le/quele naissent homme qui ont a non homoduli, ch'est a dire hommelet, qui ont fourme d'omme jusques a le boutine et apres fourme d'asne sauvage. Il ont XII pies dellonc et souef vois comme oisel. Et quant il voient hommes, il s'en fuient loins.

18 fourme dōme , Hilka prints d'oume

19

Est et alius locus hominum barbarorum, habentes sub se reges numero CX (quod) genus pessimum et barbarorum est. Sunt et alibi lacus duo, unus solis et alius lunae. Qui solis est die calidus nocte frigidus, qui lunae est nocte calidus die frigidus. Longitudo eorum CC stadia sunt, que faciunt leugas CXXXIII et dimidium miliarium.

1 habens; 3 alibi loci duo unis solis; T
1 habens; 3 alibi loca duo ; 5 Lungitudo ; B

Ðonne is oþer stow elreordige men beoð on and þa habbað cyningas under (him) þara is geteald CX ; þæt syndon þa wyrstan men and þa elreordegestan. And þar syndon twegen seaþas, oþer is sunnan oþer monan. Se sunnan seað se bið dæges hat and nihtes ceald, and se monan seað se bið nihtes hat and dæges ceald. Heora widnes is CC þæs læssan milgeteles (þe) stadia (hatte), and þæs maran þe leuua hatte CXXXIII and an healf mil.

7 elreord ge m̄ ; cynigas; 8 C ; V
7 ellreorde men; 9 And omitted , II seaðes oðer sunnan and oðer monan. Se ðe sunnan is se byð ... and se ðe monan is se bið...; 12 CC mila ðæs læssan getales; T

Apres en un autre lieu habitent gens qui ont sur aus C et X rois qui les gouvernent, et sunt barbarin et tres male gent. Et la sont II lieus, li uns du soleil et li autres de le lune. Chius du soleil est frois par nuit et caus par jour, chius de le lune est frois par jour et caus par nuit. Et le longueur de ches II lieus est CXXXIII liues.

15 C et IX Hilka

20

Hoc loco arbores nascuntur similes lauro et olivae. In quibus arboribus balsamum nascitur. Et inde proficiscentibus locus est, qui habet stadia CLI que faciunt leugas L et I miliarium.

2 basamum; T
2 prorofiscicentibus ; B

On þisse stowe beoð treowcyn þa beoð lawernbeame and ele- 4
treowum onlice. Of þæm treowum balzamum se deorweorðesta ele
bið acenned. Seo stow is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia 6
hatte CLI, and þæs miclan þe leuua (hatte) LI.

4 lawernbeabe; 7 þe leones LII ; V
6 bið eall kenned; 7 þæs maran; T

Et la naissent arbre sanlavle a loriers et a oliviers 8
esquels naist basmes. Et ensi que on se part de la, on
troeuve un lieu qui a C liues de lonc. 10

21

Itaque insula est in Rubro Mari in qua hominum genus est quod
apud nos appellatur Donestre, quasi divini, a capite usque 2
ad umbilicum quasi homines reliquo corpore similitudine humana,
nationum (diversarum) linguis loquentes. Cum alieni generis 4
hominem viderint, ipsius lingua appellabunt eum et parentum
eius et cognatorum nomina (inquirunt) blandientes sermone, 6
ut decipiant eos et perdant. Cumque comprehenderint eos
perdunt eos et comedunt. Et postea comprehendunt caput 8
ipsius hominis quem comederunt, et super ipsum plorant.

2 divine; 7 and 8 conpre- ; 9 commederunt; T
2 divinum; 3 umbilicum deformatum ab hominum specie,
reliquo corpore similitudine existens humana,nationumque
diversarum linguis loquuntur. Qui cum alieni... ;
9 comederint; B

Ðonne is sum ealond in þære Readan Sæ, þær is mancyn þæt is 10
mid us Donestre nemned, þa syndon geweaxene swa frihteras fram
þam heafde oð ðone nafolan, and se oðer dæl bið mennisce onlic. 12
And hy cunnon (eall) mennisce gereord. Ðonne hy fremdes cynnes
mannan geseoð ðonne nemnað hy hyne and his magas cuþra manna 14
naman, and mid leaslicum wordum hy hine beswicað and hine
gefoð, and æfter þan hy hine fretað ealne buton his heafde 16
and ðonne sittað and wepað ofer þam heafde.

11 frifteras; 16 buton ðon heafde; V
12 þan heafde, byð mannes lice gelic; 15 hy omitted;
16 and þænne æfter; T

Et la en la Rouge Mer est une isle en lequele sont gens qui parolent de tous langages, et saluent tous chiaus qui la vont chascun en son propre langage, et leur nomment leur cousins et leur lignage et par beles paroles les dechoivent et les prendent et menguent. Et quant il les ont mengie si se metent en orisons sur les testes.

18 Hilka omits first la ; 20 en sen Hilka emends silently.

22

Ultra hoc ad orientem nascuntur homines longi pedum XV lati pedum X, caput magnum et aures habentes tamquam vannum (quarum) unam sibi nocte substernunt, de alia se cooperiunt et tegunt se his auribus. Leve et candido corpore sunt quasi lacteo. Homines cum viderint, tollunt sibi aures et longe fugiunt quasi putes eos volare.

1 Itaque hoc; 3 alia vero se; 4 levi ; B

Ðonne is east þær beoð men acende þa beoð on wæstme fiftyne fota lange and X brade. Hy habbað micel heafod and earan swæ fon ; oþer eare hy him on niht underbredað, and mid oþran hy wreoð him. Beoð þa earan swiðe leohte and hy beoð on lichoman swa hwite swa meolc. Gyf hy hwilcne mannan on þæm lande geseoð oðþe ongytað, þonne nymað hy hyra earan him on hand and fleoð swyðe, swa hrædlice swa is wen þæt hy fleogen.

10 hy beoð swa on; V
7 Ðanan is east ; 8 and on bræde tyn fotmæla.; 11 And gif ; 12 oðþe ongytað omitted, him omitted; 13 hand and feor þætte hi fleoð, swa ; T

Et outre naissent homme qui ont XII pies de lonc et X de le, et grosse teste et orelles ossi grans qu'est uns vans, et par nuit gisent sur une et se cuevrent de l'autre. Il sont blanc comme lais. S'il voient hommes,il lievent les orelles et fuient si tost qu'il sanle qu'il volent.

23

Est et alia insula in qua nascuntur homines quorum oculi sicut lucerna lucent.

Đonne is sum ealond on þæm beoð men acende þara eagan scinaþ swa leohte swa man micel blacern onele (on) þeostre nihte.

4 swa ma ; T

Une autre isle i a ou naissent homme qui ont les vis luisans comme candelles.

24

Est et alia insula stadia habens longitudine et latitudine CCCLX, quae faciunt leugas CX. Ubi est Belis templum in diebus regis et Jobis aereo et ferreo opere constructum, quod etiam Beliobiles dicitur. Et inde est edis solis ad orientem ubi est sacerdos quietus, qui illa oppida maritima observat.

Đonne is sum ealond þæt is þæs læssan milgeteles þe stadia hatte on lenge and on bræde CCC and LX, and þæs miclan þe leuua hatte CX. Þær wæs timbred on Beles dagum (þæs cinges) and Jobes, temple of isernum geweorcum and of ærenum geworht. And on þære ilcan stowe is (east đanon eac oþer templ sunnanhalig, to þam is sum geþungen and gedefe sacerd togesett and he đa hofa gehealdeđ and begymeþ.)

9 Þær wæs getymbro on ; 10 geworcum and of glæsgegotum. And on þære ilcan stowe is æt sunnan upgange setl quietus þæs stillestan bisceopes se nænine oþerne mete ne þige buton sæ ostrum and be þam he lifede. ; V

9 XC ; T

Est une autre isle qui a C et XL liues de lonc, et est apelee Helyopolis et est edefiie de fer et d'arain. Et la est le maisons au soleil vers orient, en lequele se repose uns prestres qui edeo paine le chite.

15 Helgopolis Hilka; 17 Hilka would emend to qui ades warde les chites.

25

Est et vinea aurea in oriente ad solis ortum, quae habet uvas pedum CL, de qua nascentes pendent margaritae.

2 nascenter ; B

Þonne is gylden wingeard æt sunnan upgonge se hafað bergean hunteontiges fotmæla (lange) and fiftiges. Of þæm bergean beoð cende saragimmas.

4 On ðam bergean beoð cende swylce meregrota oððe gymmas; T

Et la est une vingne d'or dont les crapes ont C et L pies de lonc, esqueles sont marguerites et pierres precieuses autres.

26

Est et altera regio in terra Babilonie, et mons ibi est maximus inter Mediam et Armeniam, mons maximus et altissimus. Sunt ibi homines honesti : hi retinent Mare Rubrum imperio, ubi nascuntur margaritae pretiosissimae.

Þonne is oþer rice on Babilonia landum þær is seo mæste dun betwih Media dune and Armoenia. Seo is ealra duna mæst and hyhst. (Þær syndon gedefelice menn þa habbað him) to cynedome þone Readan Sæ and to anwalde. Þær beoð cende sarogimmas.

8 to kynedom and to anwealde þa Readan Sæ. Þær beoð kende þa deorwurðan gimmas.; T

Apres entre che fleuve et Babilonie est une regions en lequele est une tres haute montaigne et tres grans, ou il a hommes honnestes qui tienent le Rouge Mer en le partie par desous. Et la naissent les marguerites.

12 tiennent Hilka

27

Circa hunc locum nascuntur mulieres barbas habentes usque ad mámillas, pelliculas equorum ad vestimentum habentes. Et hae venatrices maxime, pro canibus tigres et leopardos nutriunt, et omnia genera bestiarum quae in eodem monte nascuntur cum illis venantur.

Ymb þas stowe beoð wif acenned, þa habbað beardas swa side oð hyra breost and horses hyda hy habbað him to hrægle gedon. (Þa syndan) huntigystran swiðast nemde. And (fore hundum) tigras and leopardos þæt hy fedað, þæt syndon þa cenestan deor. And ealra þara wildeora cyn þe on þære dune acende beoð mid heora scin:::e þæt hy gehuntigað.

8 hundicgean; 9 from tigras and leon and loxas þæt..; 11 hy tohuntiaþ; V

6 acenned omitted; 8 swiðe genemde; 10 kynn þæra þe; 11 mid heora scin:::e omitted; T

Et environ chele region naissent femmes qui ont longues barbes jusques as mameles et de piaus sont vestues, et sont ententives a vener, et en lieu de kiens nourrissent tigres et lupars et autres bestes.

28

Et aliae sunt mulieres ibi, dentes aprorum habentes capillos usque ad talos in lumbis caudas boum. Quae sunt altae pedum XIII, specioso corpore quasi marmore candido, pedes habentes cameli [dentes aprinos]. Quarum multe ex ipsis ceciderunt pro sua obscenitate a magno nostro Macedone Alexandro, quia illas vivas adprehendere non potuit, occidit. Ideo quia sunt publicato corpore et inhonesto.

4 cameli apinos; T

1 aprum; 4 cameli. Quarum; 5 Alexandro, quas quia vivas; B

Ðonne syndan oþere wif þa habbað eoferes tuxas and feax
oð helan side and oxan tægl on lendunum. Þa wif syndon
þryttyne fota lange and hyra lic bið on marmorstanes
hwitnysse. And hy habbað olfendan fet and eoferes teð.
For hyra unclennesse hy gefylde wæron from þæm miclan
Macedoniscan Alexandre; þa cwealde he hy þa he hy lifiende
oferfon ne mehte, for þon hy syndon æwisce on lichoman and
unweorþe.

11 hiwnesse , and eoseles teð ; 12 Of hyra micelnesse ; V
9 and on lendenum oxan tægl. ; 12 mycelnysse , gefelde
wurdon ; 13 þa he lifiende giefon ne mihte þa acwealde
he hi for þam... ; T

Et la sont autres femmes qui ont dens de saingler et les
kaviaus lonz jusques au talon et ont keues de buef et XIIII
pies de lonc, et sont ossi blankes que marbres. Et ont
biaus cors et pies de kamel et oreilles d'asne. Nos gens
en tuerent II, et li grans Alixandres ne les peut prendre
vives mais il les ochist.

29

Secus oceanum sunt genera bestiarum quae Catini nuncupantur.
Isti formosi sunt. Et ubi sunt homines cruda carne et melle
vescentes.

2 Sunt autem et ibi homines ; B

Be þæm garsecge(is) wildeora cyn þa hatton Catini ; þa
syndon freawliti deor. And þær syndon men þe be hreawum
flæsce and be hunie lifiað.

4 Catinos þær syndon ; 6 hy lifiað ; V
5 menn þa be ; T

Apres dejoste le grant mer sont homme que on apele Catiùs, qui
sont juste et bel, qui vivent de miel et de char crue.

7 deucoste or dencoste not noted by Hilka„ Catius or
Catins

30

In sinistra parte regio est Catinorum, et ibi reges sunt hospitales, sub se multos habentes tyrannos, confines secus oceanum. A sinistra parte sunt reges conplures.

1 parte Catinorum regio est in qua reges..; 3 sinistra vero; B

On þæm wynstran dæle þæs rices þe þa deor on beoð Catinos þær beoð gæstliþende men, cyningas þa habbaþ under (him) monigfealde leodhatan. Heora landgemæra buaþ neah þæm garsecge. Þanon fræm þæm wynstran dæle syndon fela cyninga.

5 and þær beoð ; V
4 þær rices ; 5 and þær beoð eastliðende menn
7 And þanan , manege for fela ; T

Et le regions de Catius est a senestre, et la est uns hospitaus u quel il a moult de tirans. Et leur voisin qui sont sur le grant mer qui sont apele Reges, sont homme...(see 31)

31

Hoc genus hominum multos vivit annos. Homines sunt benigni, et si qui ad eos venerint cum mulieribus eos remittunt. Alexander autem Macedo, cum ad eos venisset, miratus est eorum humanitatem, nec voluit eis nocere nec ultra voluit occidere.

3 Macedis; T
2 second eos omitted ; B

Ðis mancyn lyfað fela geara and hy syndon fremfulle men. Gif hwilc mon him to cymð þon gifað hy him wif ær hy hine onweg læten. Se Macedonisca Alexander þa he him to com þa wæs he wundriende hyra menniscnesse ne wolde he hi cwellan ne him nan lað don.

8 wundrende ; 9 lað on ; V
5 fremfulfe , And gyf ; 6 mann to him cymeð ; 7 þa ða he
8 ne him nawiht laðes don ; T

apele Reges) sont homme benigne et vivent moult longuement. Et se aucuns va a aus il leur baillent conduit et les renvoient s'il ont femmes. Et pour leur benignete Alixandres ne leur fist nul mal.

32

Sunt arbores in quibus lapides pretiosi nascuntur et ibi germinantur. 2

2 germinabuntur; T

Đonne syndon treowcyn on þæm þa deorwurþystan stanas synd acende (and) þonon hy growaþ. 4

3 synd of acende; V

3 of đam ; 4 þanon þætte hi ; T

Et la sont arbres esquels naiscent pierres precieuses, et pour che sont il apele gemmer qu'il portent gemmes. 6

33

Aliud genus est hominum valde nigrum qui Ethiopes vocantur.

Đær moncyn is, seondon sweartes hiwes on onsyne, þa mon hateđ Sigelwara. 2

2 hyiwes; V 3 Silhearwan; T

Et la sont Ethiopiien qui sont noir. 4

34

Est et vineola ubi est lectus eburneus longitudine CCCVI pedum.

1 second est omitted; B

Đonne is sum land wingeardas weaxat on swiđast, þær biđ rest of elpenda bane geworht. Seo is on lenge þreo hund fotmæla lang and syxa. 2 4

Et la est uns lis d'ivoire qui a CCC et III pies de lonc.

(Follows Section 25 q.v.)

35

Est et mons Adamans ubi est griphus avis, quae IIII or pedes habet, caput aquilinum et caudam bovis. In eo etiam monte est avis foenix quae habet cristas quasi orbes pavonis, nidum habet de cinnamomo. Ipsa in sinu suo post mille annos ignem incendit et nova de favilla exurget. 2 4

5 safilla or fafilla ; T

1 second est omitted ; 2 onwards In predicto etiam monte est avis fenix dicta quod colorem feniceum habet, vel quod sit in toto orbe singularis et unica, que habet cristas quasi orbes pavonis. Hec quingentis annis ultra vivens,dum se viderit senuisse, collectis aromatum virgulis rogum sibi instruit et conversa ad radium solis alarum plausu voluntarium sibi incendium nutrit et moritur. De cuius humore carnis vermis exurgit, paulatimque adolescit indu/i/tque alarum remigia atque in superioris avis speciem formamque reparatur.

Ðonne is sum dun Aðamans hatte,on ðære dune bið þæt fugelcynn þe grifus hatte, þa fugelas habbað feower fet and hryðeres tægl and earnes heafod. On þære ylcan stowe byð oðer fugelcynn fenix hatte,þa habbað cambas on heafde swa pawan, and hyra nest hi wyrcað of ðam deorweorðestan wyrtgemangum þe man cinnamomum hateð and of his fæðme æfter þusend gearum he fyr onæleð and þonne geong upp of þam yselum eft ariseþ.

10 nest þætte hi ; 11 æðme

Et la est Adamans le montaigne ou est li grifons. Et li oisiaus qui a non fenix qui a couronne de paon, et quant ele a vescu M ans ele s'art et une autre vient de le cendre.

15 mil Hilka

36

Est et alius mons ubi sunt homines nigri ad quos nemo accedere potest,quia ipse mons ardet.

1 altus mons; B

Ðonne is oðer dun þær syndon swearte menn, and nænig oðer mann to ðam mannum geferan mæg for ðam þe seo dun byð eall byrnende.

Et la est uns mons ou il a noirs hommes, et ne puet nus che mont passer car il art tous.

Explicit l'epistle le roy Perimenis a l'empereur.

NOTES. References are to the numbers of the sections.

1. Part of the first sentence seems to be missing, for as it stands it is unintelligible. The loss most probably occurred when the epistolary preamble was cut.
The ratio of stadia to leagues is quite inconsistent throughout the text. Antimolima looks like a blend of Antiochia and Olinus in Fermes, as James suggests.

2. The intermediate state of the French appears clearly in the name Athaines which corresponds with Anteletens in Fermes. Alexander's trophies or monuments are not mentioned in the other versions, and presumably derive independently from some part of the Alexander Romance, probably the Epistola.

3. From this point Premonis can be called on.
Þa is inserted in 1.5, though it is not strictly needed if the sentence is punctuated Sum stow is - mon fared to þære R.S. - seo is etc. It may be doubted whether such a parenthetical structure is likely, however, in Old English. Cockayne supplies swylce and E. V. Gordon bonne.
Hens that burn whoever touches them are found in Alexander's Letter to Olympias. Lentibelsinea remains unexplained; in Premonis it is Lentibel, but the name is not in Fermes.

4. Only the French has kept the original sense that the men are like monkeys, quasi simie in Fermes. The omission is also in Premonis and Liber Monstrorum. The 'Gorgon' eyes are only mentioned here and in Liber Monstrorum; the French reading is defective but femme must be a gloss on gorgoneos.

5. Hascellentia is a perversion of A Seleucia in Fermes (cf. Apres de Seleucie). Premonis omits and begins, Regio Medorum plena est hominibus bonis.

6. Fermes is fuller, Ibi serpentes nascuntur inmensi atque horridi et plus quam sevissimi etc.

7. a Babilonia is a mistake for ab Arabia (cf. French), and in occulto for inculta, 'barren'. The name of the serpents, corsias, (corsica in Premonis and corsia in Liber Monstrorum) hardly comes from caeraste in Fermes or cerastes in Gervase. The French confia arises

from misreading rs as nf. Isidore mentions the cerastes (Etymologiarum, ed. Lindsay XII, iv.), but his account does nothing to explain the strange readings here. In Fermes it is the men who take the peppers sua industria. The peppers are black pour le fu = propter incendium in Premonis and the same sense in Fermes, which explains that they are naturally white.

8. Conopoenas as an alternative name for the cynocephali is obscure - the French omits it - but it is in the Liber Monstrorum too.

9. The homodubii reappear in 18, where the account is quite different. Only Fermes has the proper name for these fish-eaters, idtofagi and Gervase calls them hydrophagi. The French 'little men' derives from Premonis, qui cenodubii appellantur id est homunculi.

10. Capi may be a detached and corrupted part of the end of 9. There is nothing enlightening in the other Latin texts, but the French says they caught the fish en le riviere de Cabes. The island in Fermes is Gargerum (Gervase Gargarus) which accounts for Gorgoneus here, allowing for the usual corruptions. Perhaps the name was shaped by analogy with 4.
The story of the gold-digging ants goes back as far as Herodotus and is common to many accounts of the East. All versions differ widely in detail here.

11. The river names are historical, but Archoboleta (French Arviobolet) is puzzling and is only found elsewhere in the Liber Monstrorum MS A as Mirabilia, B Anchoboleta, C omits.

12. This was once about men who turn into storks. See (a) in the discussion of Mirabilia. The last sentence has been grafted on to 13 and distorted to fit with that.

13. See (b) in discussion of texts. Fermes, which at least has some vestige of the original description of the hippopotamus, says this beast is the colour of a horse. Obviously the horse-like part is its head with a huge mouth, and the Greek name literally rendered is 'river-horse'. James makes rather heavy going of the various accounts of its sweating blood. The idea is an old one based on actual observation, for in warm weather the hippopotamus does secrete an oily red liquid.

14. The Hostes are described elsewhere only in Liber Monstrorum where they are not named. The French translator explains ch'est a dire anemis.

15. No source has been found for the Lertices. The creatures look like sheep, and James suggests the original name may have been 'berbices'. Yet in the French and Liber Monstrorum, where the creatures are not described, they are called celestices.

16. Premonis, the French and Liber Monstrorum call the headless men respectively, epifagos, epiphongos, and epistigos (A), epifugos (B), ? (C). The classical name for these creatures is Blemmyas, which is what Isidore uses.

18. Here sections 26-33 should follow. See (d) in the discussion of the text.

19. See (e) in the discussion of the text. According to James (p. 28) the story can be traced to an account of the springs in the Oasis of Zeus Ammon, which are also mentioned in the Alexander legend.

21. See (f) and (o) in the discussion of the text. The Donestre are not in Fermes, though they are in Premonis and Liber Monstrorum. They weep over the heads of their victims only here, but the Latin behind the French had a similar reading, with orant instead of plorant : se metent en orisons sur les testes.

22. See (g) in the discussion of the text.

23. Not in Fermes.

24. Very corrupt in Vitellius, see discussion of the text (l). Beliobiles is from Heliopolis and the word has been split up and repeated in the names Belis and Jobis. The French is correct.

25. The 'sunrise' solis ortum seems to be an invention of Mirabilia; read oppidum?

27. The tigers as hunting dogs are only found elsewhere in the Liber Monstrorum, but while in Mirabilia-Wonders they are used, like the leopards, to hunt other beasts, in Liber Monstrorum and in French, the 'other beasts' are reared as hounds.

28. See discussion of text (h). Two traditions from the Alexander legend are mixed here as in Premonis and the Liber Monstrorum. One tells of white, beautiful women, the other of hideous women who attacked the Greeks; see Faral, pp. 362-364.

29. The French is correct: the Catius or Catini are the same as the men who live on flesh and honey, as the other versions show. The name only occurs elsewhere in Premonis, as Cativa (Catina?). The meaning remains obscure, though the word is in 30 also.

30. Note the two corruptions in the French la est uns hospitaus and apele Reges.

31. The guests should be given gifts, not wives; see discussion of text (i). 29, 30, 31 are all part of the same continuous account. Note this last reference to Alexander (only in Premonis elsewhere), who also appears in 2 and 28.

32. In Fermes the gems are in rivers, in Premonis in snakes. It is possible that another source has been used for Mirabilia as it is hard to see what connexion there can be between flumina, serpentes and arbores.

33. The 'sun-dwellers' of the translation are common in Old English scriptural writings for the Ethiopians.
Vitellius ends here and at the foot of the page (f.106v.) is a word in red, deciphered by Rypins as wūrbasa and expanded by Malone to wurmbasa. It is very indistinct to me. Assuming the word to be wurmbasa, the only linguistic connexion is with the unique form wyrmbaso = coccus, a kind of shell-fish giving red dye, in the Leyden Glosses (Sweet, Oldest English Texts 1885, p. 113/67). I can make no sense of this and am inclined to dismiss it as a probatio pennae.

34. This should follow 25 which it partly duplicates. The full and coherent account is in Fermes where the famous golden vine, and couch of ivory and gold in the Alexander romance are described.

35. The griffon is oddly described as having four feet, an eagle's head and an ox's tail. But the other descriptions are if anything even odder, for Fermes gives it an eagle's head and pennas maximas similes luppe = 'tail' (from penis?), and Premonis only equinum capud (read aquilinum?). Both imply that it is a bird, and say nothing of its lion's body. Bodley's elaboration on the phoenix

is mainly from Isidore Etymologiarum, XII,vii,22 and Ambrose's Hexameron V,79.

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CHAPTER FOUR : THE LETTER OF ALEXANDER

The Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem

In printing the prose texts in the reverse order from that of the manuscript Rypins was not merely capricious. He probably thought that they should be so placed to reflect their relative interest as literature. Christopher, even had it been complete, is only mediocre, and the Mirabilia-Wonders exist in a textually degenerate state and cannot be claimed to have much merit. Yet the Letter, although not a translation of all that is in the Epistola Alexandri, is long, full of narrative interest, and in its own terms complete[1]. Moreover, Alexander deserves pre-eminence as the cardinal figure in a legendary tradition which extends beyond Europe and has remained strong for more than two thousand years. Whether seen by his contemporaries or recent historians, through the glass of romance or that of severe scholarship, Alexander has fascinated generations of writers. In comparison the heroes of later days, even Charlemagne and Arthur, dwindle to almost dwarfish proportions. They are not still remembered in the East, as Alexander is, nor, like him, have they found a place in all three of the great religious breeding grounds of European culture, Jewish, Christian and Moslem[2].

Intense investigation has not exhausted the problems of the history of Alexander and its transmission in a score of languages, and every year brings some new manuscript, some new interpretation, to modify the accepted views. A comprehensive assessment is still retarded since there is no complete bibliography of materials and studies, despite complaints as long ago as the Great War that it was a hard task to find, let alone keep abreast of, the flood of publications[3]. The world's acknowledged expert on Alexander, Professor Friedrich Pfister, has greatly enriched our knowledge in more than sixty years' work; but his promised 'Alexander der Grosse in der Weltliteratur' has not appeared, and can hardly now be expected. Two recent works, however, contain full accounts of the major sources and of the present state of scholarship. They are George Cary's The Medieval Alexander Cambridge, 1956, and D. J. A. Ross' Alexander Historiatus 1963 (see also the supplement to Ross in the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes XXX, 1967, 383-388).

Sources concerning the life of Alexander were for the most part romantic rather than historical. The two elements were mixed, however, and fables creep into what is chiefly sober history, just as traces of the truth sometimes underlie the most preposterous fictions. Much of the medieval literature in western Europe about Alexander can be traced ultimately to a Greek compilation known as the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which was most likely written in Alexandria in the third century A.D. The real Callisthenes who accompanied Alexander did write an account of their adventures, but this is lost, and the fabricator of Pseudo-Callisthenes depended on two main sources, a coloured rhetorical 'history' and a collection of more or less spurious letters[4]. Of the recensions of this work, that which most nearly concerns us is the α version in its Latin form by Julius Valerius (c. 310-330), the Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis. The kernel of the Epistola Alexandri is in Pseudo Callisthenes III, 17, and a fuller treatment of the same material exists in the Res gestae. The Epistola is the version translated into Old English. It is not an original composition for both style and language show it to be based on a lost Greek text. It seems, moreover, to have been debased from an early date. According to Ausfeld (Der Griechische Alexanderroman Leipzig, 1907, pp. 27-28), the accounts purporting to describe Alexander's exploits in the East in Pseudo-Callisthenes and in Epistola are related to a lost Greek letter. In the Epistola the parts of the story have become disordered and names are often distorted, but Ausfeld (pp. 179-180) detected four main parts in the story before it became muddled[5]. Reinhold Merkelbach's study Die Quellen des Griechischen Alexanderromans (Zetemata IX, Munich, 1954) has amplified the analysis of the displacements, repetitions, and interpolations in the Epistola. Such is the nature of the letter, which of all the spurious correspondence fathered on Alexander was the most influential in the Middle Ages. The genuine letters of Alexander have almost no place in the development of the legends[6].

The earliest extant manuscripts of the Epistola are of the ninth century, but although we cannot know for certain when it was translated from Greek, it must have been many years before that time. The anonymous author of the grammatical treatise De dubiis nominibus knew the Epistola, for he borrowed a distinctive phrase from it for his own work. Two of the three manuscripts of De dubiis nominibus (edited by Keil in Grammatici Latini V, Leipzig, 1868, 567-594) are of the ninth century and

derive from an older common source. Since the author quotes Isidore he must have been writing after the early seventh century. Manitius considered it to be a Spanish work of the mid seventh century (Geschichte I, 127). This is hardly helpful in allowing us to date the Epistola which preceded the grammar. So far as I am aware no one has ever suggested that the Epistola is later than the seventh century, and in all probability it is earlier, for it is an important source for Fermes, the Mirabilia and the texts of the paradoxographic tradition which I have described in Chapter Three. If only one of these texts could be dated within a half-century the rest would fall into an approximate chronology; but it remains a fair presumption that the Epistola is early.

The Epistola, with Alexander as its writer and central character, is addressed to his tutor Aristotle. Though there is a stratum of historical truth beneath the account, it is almost wholly an improbable fiction. After the preliminary courtesies and protestations of truthfulness, Alexander tells how, having defeated Darius of Persia, he entered Bactria and overcame Porus, whose wonderful palace is described at length with its gold pillars, gem-encrusted walls, chambers of ivory, a golden vine which bears precious stones, and mechanical singing birds. Ever curious to know what lies further on, Alexander sets out, braving the deserts and the wild beasts which inhabit them, yet hampered by the amount of plunder the army has gained. They suffer from thirst for there is no water to be had until the faithful Zephyrus brings some from a small rock pool for the king. Alexander rewards him liberally, after he has first poured the water away, for he will not be refreshed while his men suffer. They come to a river, whose water proves undrinkable, and are forced to march on, though men and beasts are tormented by thirst. When they reach an island its half naked inhabitants flee into their houses and Alexander can learn nothing from them of water supplies. Finally Alexander orders a troop to swim across, but they are all destroyed by water serpents, and in his anger Alexander sends his incompetent guides to the same horrid end. Later, after a forced march the Greeks reach a lake and strike camp. Defensive preparations are made before nightfall, a wise precaution, since for many hours they are attacked by various creatures.

After several minor battles Alexander again encounters Porus and his army. Alexander disguises himself as a commoner and makes his way into the enemy camp where he is taken to Porus, who interrogates him about Alexander. Alexander wittily describes himself as a senile old man, and tricks the gullible king who sends him back with a message to the 'real' Alexander. On the next day Porus and all his host come into Alexander's power, and he treats them well. He visits two enormous gold statues erected by Porus and makes sacrifices, before continuing his quest. Progress is impeded by more attacks from beasts, most notably elephants, but Alexander has the satisfaction of seeing the curious Ichthyophagi.

Now the elements conspire against the travellers who suffer from fierce gales, snow, and fire from the skies. Yet most of them survive to see the famous mount Enesios, before Alexander is directed to the trees of the sun and moon which will predict the future. Incredulous, but inquisitive as ever, Alexander leaves the main body of the army behind and goes off into deepest India. He enters a place of pleasant groves, to be greeted by the chief-priest, a negro of enormous stature, who explains the peculiar properties of the area and the powers of the sacred trees. When he is assured of the physical purity of the Greeks they are permitted, at the appropriate hour, to question the trees. Alexander makes three inquiries at various times, and is told that though he shall conquer the world he shall never see his home again, but shall die within two years at Babylon. The sun-tree refuses to tell him explicitly how he shall die, lest he try to cheat Fate, yet prophesies happiness for his sisters and a miserable death for his mother Olympias. Only his closest friends are aware of these details and Alexander pledges them to secrecy. (Here the Old English translation leaves the story, and concludes with the final lines of the Epistola. About a tenth of the whole is thus omitted).

Urged by the tree to return to the main army, Alexander and his companions leave and enter the Jordia valley where they find serpents with emeralds in their heads, pig-headed (?) beasts with lions' tails, and gryphons. Then they reach the river Oclivas among whose enomous reeds live countless elephants; the Greeks collect a quantity of ivory and cross the water on boats made from the reeds, and on the further

side discover Indians clad in whale skins. They are not hostile but present them with sponges, sea-horns and clothes made of the pelts of sea-calves along with other curiosities. There are long-haired mermaids, dangerous to mankind, and two of them are caught. They look like nymphs with limbs as white as snow.

Alexander refuses to describe the wonders of the Ganges lest Aristotle should think he is dealing in fables, but he does remark that the Ganges and Euphrates are so wide that one cannot see from bank to bank. At an Indian castle the army is directed on the road back through the Caspian Gates, and after an encounter with a unicorn when many men lose their lives, the remnant arrive at their base. Alexander sends out commands that massive pillars are to be erected with his deeds and travels inscribed upon them as a memorial to future ages. 'We have set up a new, perpetual and enviable monument to our glorious acts to be an immortal and continual good report for us and a mark of the diligence of our spirit, O beloved Aristotle.'

On this brave note the tale ends. Though modest in length it is both sprawling and uneven, and it is regrettable that its editors have never divided the text into coherent chapters. Heinrich Becker, it is true, tells the story in twenty-two numbered sections, but his work is unknown and inaccessible, of little use for reference[7]. Becker's description of the Epistola as a prose Odyssey gives a fair indication of its form and general quality, although it is a trifle over-complimentary. The story left to us is no Homeric well-spring but rather muddy water. The adventures are ill-articulated and chronology is quite forgotten. Much of the story matter is found elsewhere and lends itself to comparative commentary; this is not the place, however, to trace motifs or anthropological lines of thought, such as Merkelbach's proposition that the battles against wild animals are the distortion of real battles against men in animal skins and with animal masks. No doubt the Latin translator, and the Anglo-Saxon after him, took the story straightforwardly. At the most they can have known only a few offshoots of a huge story-stem, and they were unburdened by erudite explication. How far they believed the story depends on what we mean by 'believe'. In a world where much which lay beyond human knowledge and direct experience

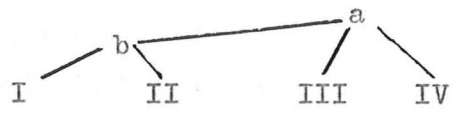
was accepted as of account, there could be no cause to be sceptical of a strange plant and animal life, outlandish races, and even trees endowed with speech and prophecy. Only late in the Middle Ages does one see the beginnings of disbelief among a few men of high attainments, and it is not until the Renaissance that there is widespread incredulity and contempt (see Cary, pp. 234-236, 239, 335).

Modern Editions of the Epistola

More than a hundred full or fragmentary manuscript copies of the Epistola dating from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries have been traced by Dr D. J. A. Ross[8]. Translations were made into many European languages but after the Old English version, the Epistola was not translated again into English until the fifteenth century. This Middle English version, still inedited, is in Worcester Cathedral Library, MS 172, ff. 138-146, dated 1447. The Epistola was printed as early as 1499 and remained popular for nearly two hundred years thereafter, going through many editions. It is appropriate that the first modern printing of the text was made by Oswald Cockayne from Cotton Nero D VIII (twelfth century) to accompany the editio princeps of the Old English translation in the Narratiunculae of 1861. His edition of the Epistola is, however, very inaccurate, and his collations from four other British Museum manuscripts are very meagre and of little use. A more careful edition based upon eight manuscripts is found in Kübler's appendix to Juli Valeri Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis Leipzig, 1888, pp. 190-221. As more manuscripts were examined his vague statements about manuscript affiliations were superseded. In Zur Alexandersage Breslau, 1909, Alfons Hilka gave a text based on Montpelier 31 with variations from a second Montpelier manuscript and several printed editions including Cockayne's and Kübler's. Like most 'Programms' this is seldom met with nowadays, a loss hardly to be deplored, though Rypins was too severe in describing its apparatus as 'often worthless' because of 'a hopeless confusion in the use of these [i.e. manuscript] abbreviations'. (Rypins, p. 77). The confusion evidently did not exist in Hilka's mind, yet his apparatus is so convoluted that it

confuses the reader. Rypins himself provides a diplomatic edition of the Epistola from the twelfth-century C.C.C.C. Oxford 82, with occasional variants from printed editions; it is scarcely more usable than Hilka's and ought never to have been left in its crude, unpunctuated state. Although other collations and notes on the text have appeared from time to time[9], they have been made superfluous by the appearance of Walther Walther Boer's Leyden dissertation, Epistola Alexandri ad Aristolelem ad Codicum Fidem Edita et Commentario Critico Instructa Hague, 1953. Kübler once described the editing of the Epistola as a 'Herculean' task, a phrase often echoed since, whose justification is well seen in Walther Boer's edition. Of the sixty-seven manuscripts which he enumerates, Walther Boer bases his text upon twenty-eight. The edition is likely to remain unrivalled for many years[10]. It is only to be regretted that his Commentary deals mostly with points of grammar and style, to the exclusion of the general history of the piece, and its diffusion as one of the most popular pseudo-antique productions of the Middle Ages. Work along such lines remains an important desideratum, despite that of Heinrich Becker in the last century and that of Professor Pfister in this.

Walther Boer's standards are high, as independent examinations of the original manuscripts show[11]. Yet it may be doubted whether his orthodox approach to classification can reasonably be supported nowadays. Stemmata have lost their fascination and quasi-scientific status since Lachman's time and the Epistola must be a trial for the scholar who is still wedded to traditional methodology. It is quite evident that the transmission was 'open' or 'lateral', a fact to which the variants testify. They occupy five times the space of the main text and even so are not exhaustive. I share the reservations of Merkelbach and Énout on this matter[12]. Nevertheless Walther Boer's guidance must be followed; what is important for our purposes is the amount of evidence he provides for comparing the Epistola with the Old English translation. The twenty-eight manuscripts are divided in the Introduction into four main groups, with the broad classification (p. xxxii) -



As his base text the first group, comprising five manuscripts of the twelfth century, is adopted since 'vitia multo pauciora quam ceteri exhibent ; quam ob causam hos sequi oportebit ubicumque de lectionum variarum pondere dubitari poterit.' (p. xxxiv). The four groups of manuscripts are listed below with their sigla. Those that were used by earlier writers have been denoted by their names; Kübler's eighth manuscript, which is not in Walther Boer's list, was Vienna 150. The early printed editions used systematically by Hilka are noted on p. III of his Program; for Rypins' authorities see pp. 77-78 of his book.

	H.	Leyden, B.P.L.20.	12	Century	(Kübler)
	Gc.	Cambridge, Gonville & C. 177	12	"	
I	Cn.	B.M. Cotton Nero D VIII	12	"	(Cockayne)
	Ol.	Oxford, Lincoln Coll. 96	12	"	
	Pari.	Paris 5062	12	"	
	W.	Paris 7561	9	"	
	Br.	Brussels 5354-61	9	"	
	U.	Cambridge 2434	12	"	
II	R.	B.M. Royal 15 C VI	12	"	
	Re.	B.M. Royal 15 C IV	12	"	
	Reg.	B.M. Royal 13 A I	11	"	
	Mp.	Montpelier 31	13	"	(Hilka)
	L.	Leyden, Vossianus Q 20	9	"	(Kübler)
	G.	Wolfenbüttel 56,16,8	11	"	(Kübler)
	M.	Leyden Vossianus Q 29	10	"	(Kübler)
	B.	Paris 8518	10	"	(Kübler)
	A.	B.M. Harley 2682	11	"	
III	C.	Paris 17569	12	"	(Kübler)
	P.	Paris 4880	14	"	(Kübler)
	Om.	Oxford, Laud Misc. 247	12	"	
	Mps.	Montpelier 384	12	"	(Hilka)
	Pa.	Paris 6831	10	"	
	S.	B.M. Sloane 1619	13	"	
	Oc.	Oxford, C.C. Coll. 82	12	"	(Rypins)
IV	Par.	Paris, Nouv. acq. lat. 310	12	"	
	Et.	Eton 133	13	"	
	Es.	Einsidlensis 357	13	"	
	Tr.	Cambridge, Trinity Coll. 1335	13	"	

The Latin Text Used By the Translator

Only a handful of the manuscripts of the Epistola are earlier or as early as Cotton Vitellius A XV. The date of a manuscript is, however, seldom of much consequence, as Bentley and Housman well knew; what matters is its readings. One would expect to be able to identify from among Walther Boer's twenty-eight manuscripts, one which is very close to the text that the translator had before him. When Rypins drew up his list of sixty Epistola manuscripts, he eliminated Nero D VIII, printed by Cockayne, and Harley 2682 as not being the translator's 'true original' (pp. xxxv-xxxvii), and after examining other available texts he was obliged to conclude that at that time it was not possible to designate an extant text which accurately reflects the one the translator used. He printed manuscript C.C.C. Oxford 82 because it illustrates the Old English translation 'as adequately as any known variant', but was careful to emphasise that this manuscript is not 'most directly descended' from the one the translator had. I have not been able to settle on any one of the manuscripts collated by Walther Boer as an adequate substitute for this lost manuscript, and the attempt would seem to be fruitless, since it can be shown that the Old English does not agree consistently with any one of the four groups of Latin manuscripts, let alone with an individual member of any group.

The Latin is cited by page and line of the main text of the edition and the English by folio and line of Vitellius. The translation is substantially in agreement with the main text, i.e. Group I. There is at least one instance in which Group I and the English agree against the other Latin texts :

12/7	Quorum ego praesentiam videre desiderans	122r/5	Ða wilnade ic bara monna onsyne to geseonne

Videre is omitted elsewhere, except in Br, where it has been inserted later. Occasionally Group I and the English share a reading with only a few of the other manuscripts :

36/8	Enesios...montes	116v/12	dune...Enesios

Apart from Group I only S and Et (from Group IV) have Enesios ; M and B have Enes(s)eos, Group II has (A)ethneos, and all the rest

forms still less like Enesios - e.g. Es has annisos, and L thenesaeos. As a rule, however, where it is possible to compare the translation closely, Group I and a dozen or more of the other manuscripts, scattered through the other three groups, will all agree. For example :

23/7 Viginti dies 111v/4 XX daga

where the variant triginta is in Mp (Group II), Group III, and Tr (Group IV).

Group I is not homogenous. H, Gc and Cn (+ Tr in Group IV) contain a letter from Porus to Alexander (p. 26) which is not in the translation nor in any other Latin manuscript. There are also several readings in which the translation agrees with other manuscripts against Group I, such as :

a) 4/10 argentoque 109v/10 þa twigo
sarmentoque is in Group III and other manuscripts.

b) 22/1 solitos pisces consumebant 110v/12 hie þa gewunelican fixas þe in þæm mere wæron mid hiora cleum uptugon...
After pisces Groups II, III, and IV have cum unguibus (or ungulis) extrahebant (or detrahebant).

c) 27/1 omnia perforavi 113r/17 het hie þa þurhborian
iussi perforare and similar variants in accord with the translation are in Group II (except W, Br, Mp) Group III, and Group IV (except Oc, Et).

d) 41/7 Lucus erat largus 126v/1 Wæs seo stow rum
locus in Groups II (except W), III, and IV (S lucus vel locus).

e) 48/4 mense nono 129r/18 on Maius monðe
mense Maio III, IV (S omits).

A few oddities in the translation are probably or certainly due to the Latin used. Those which can be extricated from complex corruptions - some cannot be - are given here :

a) 4/7 .. cum suis capitellis admodum quadringentas enumeravimus auratosque parietes laminarum digitalium grossitudine. Quos cum aestimare vellem, aliquibus locis intercidi. Vineam quoque ...

109v/4 .. þe we gerimdon be þæm gemete CCCC. Þa wagas wæron eac gyldne mid gyldnum þelum anæglede fingres þicce. Mid þy ic ða wolde geornlicor þa þing geseon 7 furðor eode þa geseah ic gyldenne wingeard ...

A phrase is missing in the translation to tell how Alexander cut into the gold (intercidi). Perhaps there has been confusion in the Latin with intercedere = 'to go between', and this gave rise to furðor eode. Geornlicor...geseon may come from visere, a variant of aestimare in Mp, Group III, S, and Par.

b) 21/3 Antelucanum deinde tempus caelo pestes venere candido versicolores in modum ranarum.....

110r/12 Þa hit wæs foran to uhtes þa æteowde þær wolberende lyft hwites hiowes 7 eac missenlices wæs heo on hringwisan fag ....

The frog-like pestes have been taken as noxious vapours and the following elaboration is built on this misconception. Versicolores is an editorial restoration by Boer; the manuscripts have variously versi colore, versae colore etc, which fit the translation. The reading hringwisan fag derives from in modum zonarum in Groups II and III, Oc, Et, and Es. Was the translator first confused by venere, corrupted as venare = 'to poison'?

c) 29/2 .. belua novi generis prosilivit serrato tergo, hippotami pectore, duo capita habens, unum leaenae simile, corcodrillo gerens alterum simillimum duris munitum dentibus...

113v/20 Ða cwom þær semninga sum deor of þæm fenne 7 of ðæm fæstene; wæs þæm deore eall se hrycg acæglod swelce snoda, hæfde þæt deor seonowealt heafod swelce mona, 7 þæt deor hatte quasi caput luna, 7 him wæron þa breost gelice nicres breastum 7 heardum toðum 7 miclum hit wæs gegyred 7 geteþed.

It is possible that the translator could make nothing of the hippopotamus and crocodile, and muddled through. Both are omitted, however, in R and Re (Group II), and it is likely enough that the passage had become garbled in the translator's Latin. These two names caused a good deal of trouble for scribes in many manuscripts, and the affiliations in the rest of the description are complex. Quasi caput luna for the name of the creature is clearly lifted straight out of the Latin, and the round head swelce mona is presumably the translator's attempt to make sense of it. The commonest variant for leaenae is luna or lunae in Groups II (except Mp leoni), III, and Es and Et (Group IV); luna is therefore an inherited corruption.

d) 34/9 Nam et flatus Euri ceciderat et frigus ingens vespertino accrescebat tempore.

115v/17 Mid þy hit æfenne nealehte ða ongunnon þa windas eft weaxan, 7 þæt weder hreogan 7 ungemetlic cele geweox.

This is a clear instance in which the translator has been blamed for the insufficiency of his Latin by Sisam. When he wrote that the winds began to increase again and the weather became stormy, the translator was following the sense of a number of manuscripts. Group I has deciderat, synonymous with ceciderat printed by Walther Boer. But Om, S and Par have acciderat, G and A accesserat, and L, M, B, Mps, and Pa accederat.

It is not known when the Epistola first reached England. Sisam says that 'it was probably known in England early ' (p. 83 note 3) but this is really cautious guesswork. Should the Liber Monstrorum have been written in England (see Appendix B) before or during the eighth century, we may be sure that the Epistola was already here, since the author of the Liber Monstrorum specifically mentions it several times.

The Old English Translation.

The Letter was first printed, page for page and line for line, by Oswald Cockayne in Narratiunculae 1861. Holder's collation in Anglia I, 1878,507-512, removed many readings from the area of mere conjecture, and in 1881 W.M.Baskervill published as a Leipzig dissertation the only readable edition which appeared in the same year in Anglia IV, 139-167. The promised notes were never printed, and the edition itself has been condemned by Rypins since Baskervill never used the manuscript, but relied on a transcript given to him by Wülker.[13] The errors are duly noted in the apparatus to Rypins' own edition, but they are not so numerous nor so serious as one might suppose from reading Rypins' censure.

The Vitellius text is unique, and there is no record of any other copy surviving at the end of the Middle Ages. It is, however, certainly not the translator's autograph, and to distinguish the stages by which the translation was transmitted is not possible. The admixture of dialect forms and a large number of scribal errors indicate that between the original translation and Vitellius there were probably at least two or three intermediate stages. Hence the 'copyist' of Vitellius is a figure composed of successive scribes. In what follows I have tried to separate simple errors which can best be explained as scribal (A) from larger corruptions (B), and among the larger corruptions to separate those for which the copyists seem to have been responsible (B i) from those which may have been the fault of the translator (B ii).

(A) A record of minor errors in the text has been made over the years, but it is widely dispersed and not exhaustive, and for these reasons the following list is given. Errors in the printed editions and conjectures shown to be untenable from an examination of the manuscript have been excluded, as have emendations proposed for the damaged margins where there is nothing to choose between the alternatives (e.g. 108v/6 where Braun and Rypins would have þa ðing eall but Bradley and Sisam, þas ðing eall). I have also excluded unacceptable emendations when the manuscript reading is defensible (e.g. Rypins' proposed insertion of we

before fengon at 114v/2, where a comma suffices, or Braun's change of ne to we at 114r/10. Besides the editions of Cockayne (= C), Baskervill (= B) and Rypins (= R), textual notes have appeared in

K = Klaeber , MLN XVIII,1903,246-247

Br = Braun, Lautlehre der...Epistola Alexandri 1911 ; see below p. 114 .

H = Heschl, 'Beiträge zur Untersuchung der ... Epistola Alexandri'; see below p. 114 .

BS = Bradley and Sisam, MLR XIV, 1919,202-205.

A number of Heschl's unpublished emendations anticipate Bradley and Sisam or Rypins; except in his case the first corrector only has been noted.

1. 107r/1 for GESEGENIS read GESETENIS C .
2. 107r/9 for gemindig ge read gemindig þin, ge BS.
3. 107r/10 for freon nis se read frecennisse R.
4. 107v/13 for oddе read oddе C .
5. 108v/15 Ond we þær settan 7 geendebyrdedon ure gerefan þæm eastþeodum 7 monegum cynelicum weorðmyndum we wæron gewelgode. Read ... þæm eastþeodum ingemong 7 monegum....
6. 109r/7 for 7 þæm londe read on þæm londe BS .
7. 109v/12 for 7 his hon 7 his wæstmas read 7 his hos 7 his wæstmas.
8. 118r/15 7 ic swiðe wundrade þa gesælignesse þære eorðan; this is dittographic and should be deleted B .
9. 118v/19 for sunnan read sumum BS .
10. 119r/15 for eorcnanstane read eorcnanstana H and R .
11. 119v/6 for ic hie read ic het hie BS.
12. 120v/6 for wintreow read pintreow BS .
13. 121r/20 for in me or mine read iu me Malone, Nowell Codex p.45.
14. 121v/11 for þurh þalond read þurh þa lond R.
15. 122r/3 for mennisce men read Indisce men, cf. Epistola p.12/5 paucosque Indorum seminudos notavimus homines.

16. 123r/11 for þ us read þus R.

17. 123v/4 for siodđan read siođđan C.

18. 124r/10 ... þa cwomon þær scorpiones þæt wyrmcyn swa hie ær gewunelice wæron þæs wæterscіepes. Read ... toweard þæs wæterscіepes, cf. Epistola p.17/1 scorpiones consuetam petentes aquationem.

19. 125v/3 for laforas read eoferas Br.

20. 111v/20 for mete read metes.

21. 113v/17 for odđe read ođđe C.

22. 114v/15 Ond we þa niht on þære wicstowe gesundlice wicodon 7 ic hæfde mid fæstene gefæstnad þæt us nowþer ne deor ne oðer earfeđo sceđđan meahten.
Read ... 7 ic hæfde hie mid... sceđđan meahten.

23. 115r/1 for gesawe read gesawon we BS .

24. 115r/18 for sydđan read syđđan C.

25. 116r/19 for seodđan read seođđan C .

26. 116v/1 Delete siđđan B

27. 116v/8 for siodđan read siođđan C.

28. 117r/13 ... 7 sægdon þæt nære mara weg þonne meahte on tyn dagum geferan. Read ... þonne ic meahte ... C .

29. 117v/6 Delete 7 BS.

30. 117v/16 for forealđođan read forealdodan C.

31. 126r/3 Delete his .

32. 126r/15 for palthera read panthera.

33. 126v/17 for alette read halette H .

34. 126v/19 for hin read him C.

35. 127r/10 for setlgongen read setlgonges H and BS .

36. 127v/16 for instyred read onstyred.

37. 128r/5 ond swa re geond wyrdum should be read as ondsware geondwlyddum. H BS.

trs

38. 128r/6 for siodđan read siođđan C.

39. 128v/9 for eþel read wyrd C.

40. 129v/12 for micelne read medmicelne BS.

41. 130r/17 for odde read oðde C.

42. 130v/11 Delete second þu.

43. 130v/14 Delete second ne.

44. 130v/17 for fer read for C.

(Bi.)

1. 1/5 ... ut aliquid per novarum rerum cognitionem studio et ingenio possit accedere. Quamquam in te consummata prudentia nullumque adiutorium expostulet ratio doctrinae quae a te et tuo saeculo ac futuris temporibus conveniat ...

107r/18 ... to þon þæt hwæthwygo to þære ongietenisse þissa minra þinga þin gelis 7 glengista geþeode þeah in þe seo gefylde gleawnis 7 snyttro næniges fultumes abæded sio lar þæs rihtes.

A basic misapprehension on the translator's part has here been further obscured by several scribal errors. I follow BS. minra should be niura = niwra 'novarum rerum' ; glengista seems to be a ghost-word, and the phrase should be emended to gleawnis to geþeode ; a 'literal though unidiomatic' rendering is given if 7 is added after snyttro and abæded is emended to abædeð .

2. 1/14 Mirandum est terra quantum aut bonarum rerum pariat aut malarum, conceptrix et parens publica ferarum ac fructuum metallorumque atque animalium. Quae si omnia liceat intueri homini, vix suffectura tot varietatibus rerum ipsa crediderim nomina.

107v/12 Seo eorðe is to wundrienne hwæt heo ærest oþþe godra þinga cenne oðde eft þara yfelra þe heo þæm sceawigendum is æteowed. Hio is cennede þa fulcuþan 7 wecga oran 7 wunderlice wyhta, þa þing eall þæm monnum þe hit geseoð 7 sceawigað wæron uneþe to gewitanne for þære missenlicnisse þara hiowa.

þe heo þæm sceawigendum is æteowed derives from the common variants contemplatrix (contemplaris) existat for conceptrix . Some such phrase as wildeora 7 wæstma has been lost after fulcuþan (cf. Sisam,p. 84 note 4) , and the end of the sentence seems to have been distorted and naman = nomina (for which no variant is recorded) has been lost.

3. 5/2 ... fores eburneae miri candoris, et ebenina lacunaria nitebant testitudinibus cypressinis in insigni locò et in balnearibus, quibus lavari erant soliti. Aureae quoque solidaeque cum crateribus aureis statuae et innumeri thesauri. Foris in domus pariete avium innumerabilia genera variis coloribus oberrabant inter aureas plaſa?os unguibus rostrisque inauratis cum inauribus torquibusque, margaritas et uniones gerentia.

109v/18 Uton hie wæron elpendbanum geworhte þa wæron wunderlice hwite 7 fægere, 7 cypressus styde 7 laurisce hie utan wreþedon 7 gyldne styþeo hie uton wreþedon 7 awþrawene ðar ingemong stodon.7 unarimedlicu goldhord þær wæron inne 7 ute 7 monifealdlicu hie wæron 7 missenlicra cynna.

There is no more vexing passage in the Letter than this, and it is the more difficult to elucidate since the Epistola admits dozens of variants. It is impossible to tell what has been omitted by the translator and what inadvertently mutilated. Uton derives from a misreading of fores 'doors' as foris (not a recorded variant) , but laurisce is an inherited corruption from lauri for lavari . There is nothing in the Epistola to account for the disappearance of the golden vessels (crateribus). At its second appearance hie uton wreþedon is plainly ditto - graphic. The description of the gold-bedecked birds wandering amid the plane trees has disappeared entirely in the text as it now is, except for the detached scrap 7 ute 7 monifealdlicu hie wæron 7 missenlicra cynna . It appears that the translator had a puzzling Latin text before him, with its own peculiarities, that his translation was a patched up affair, and that later copyists made it almost unintelligible.

4. 12/13 Iamque quartum fluminis partem nataverant, cum horrenda res visu subito nobis conspecta est. Maiores elephantorum corporibus hippotami ...

122r/17 Þa hie ða hæfdon feorðan dæl þære ea geswummen ða becwom sum ongrislic wise on hie, þæt wæs þonne nicra mengeo on onsione maran 7 unhyrlicran þonne ða elpendas...

The only significant variants are humidà and horrida for horrenda, and visa and visui for visu. Hippotami is represented by nicra. One letter is erased after sum and two after -lic, and the whole phrase ða becwom sum ongrislic wise on hie is unidiomatic; I suspect an omission after sum.

5. 49/5 Sed adhuc ipse quoque sacerdos velatus pellibus ferinis quiescebat, positaque ante eum in tabula ingens cliba turis erat, quae illi ex pridiana cena superfuerat et culter eburneus. Nam aere et ferro et plumbo et argento egent, auro abundant.

129v/19 Ac þa reste hine se bisceop þa giet 7 mid wildeora fellum wæs gegerwed 7 bewrigen 7 irenes 7 leades þa men on þæm londum wædliað 7 goldes genihtsumniað.

There is an obvious lacuna after bewrigen. It is possible that the translator's Latin had one of the corruptions of cliba turis such as libaturis or libatura, but I doubt whether that would have led him to omit the entire sentence.

(B ii)

1. 4/2 in quò fuere praeter peditum copias sedecim milia equitum, octingentae quadrigae, omnes falcatae ...

109r/12 ... þæs wæs buton unarimedlican feþum sixtene þusend monna 7 eahta hund eoredmanna ealle mid heregeatwum gegerede.

Falcatae ' furnished with sickles' refers to the blades on the quadrigae 'chariots'. It appears that the translator had no native vocabulary properly to express this sense, and hence he referred to the heregeatwum of the men. On the strength of this

passage alone Toller has conjectured that eoredmann, which usually means a 'horseman' may also mean ' a man riding in a chariot' , but I do not accept this.

2. 12/11 ... ducentos milites ex Macedonibus levibus armis misi per amnem nataturos.

122r/13 Þa het ic CC minra þegna of greca herige leohtum wæpnum hie gegyrwan 7 hie on sunde to þære byrig foron 7 swumman ofer.

In using hie gegyrwan the translator has made a very minor slip. The logic of the story requires that men who are not encumbered with heavy armour should try the crossing, hence those levibus armis. It would be foolish for them to do as the English implies and put on light gear.

3. 18/3 serpentes ... ad potandum aquam ex vicinis montium speluncis processere oribus squamisque suis humum atterentes ; quorum pectora erecta cum trisulcis linguis fauces exserebant scintillantibus veneno oculis ; quorum halitus quoque erat pestifer.

124v/16 Cwoman þa wyrmas of þæm neahdunum 7 scrafum þider to þon þæt hie þæt wæter drincan woldon. Eodon þa wyrmas 7 scluncon wundorlice, wæron him þa breost upgewende 7 on ðæm hricge eodon, 7 a swa hie hit geforan gelice mid þæm scillum gelice mid ðe muþe ða eorþan sliton 7 tæron. Hæfdon hie þa wyrmas þrieslite tungan 7 þonne hie eðedon þonne eode him of þy muðe mid þy oroþe swylce byrnende þecelle ; wæs þæra wyrma oroð 7 eþung swiðe deadberende 7 æterne ...

The kernel of the meaning is incorporated in this long-winded paraphrase, but the translator has misunderstood pectora erecta and thinks of the serpents travelling on their backs. The deadly light in their eyes has become a flaming torch in their breath, in anticipation of the following clause.

4. 25/4 ... cum essem gregarius ex Macedonico miles exercitu.

112r/20 ... for þon þe ic wære his þegnes mon 7 his ceapes heorde 7 wære his feohbigenga.

Gregarius 'private soldier' has been confused with the adjective 'belonging to a herd' ,hence the reference to cattle-keeper.

5. 36/1 Iussi igitur milites scissas vestes opponere ignibus.

116r/17 Ða het ic eald hrægl toslitan 7 habban wiđ þæm fyre 7 sceldan mid.

The idea of tearing up old clothes to hold against the fire is a basic misconception.

6. 42/3 'Si a coitu' inquit 'puerili et femineo contactu vacas ...

127r/1 Ða ondswarode he,'Gif þine geferan beoð clæne from wifgehrine... ' (manuscript wigfgehrine ; see below Chapter Five, Table 1, number 17).

By altering the place and sense of puerili (variant pueri) in the contruction, the translator by accident or design has eliminated the notion of pederasty.

7. 44/7 Et cum sacrificare instituerem ...

127v/18 Ða þohte ic sægde Alexander þæt ic wolde onsægdnisse þær onsecgan ...

The translator has forgotten that the narrative is throughout in the first person, and that sægde Alexander must be out of place.

The Character and Style of the Translation

As we have just seen, the translator has not been well served by later scribes, who disfigured his work. His own comprehension too was, as we have also seen, not above reproach. And yet it is only just to admit that the Epistola itself is sometimes dull and contains structural deficiencies, and that with its high-flown style it can never have been easy material for any translator, especially if it were scantly punctuated. It is not therefore surprising that the English is at times halting and unidiomatic, that it lacks polish, and is 'flat and ungraceful' (Davis, Sweet's Anglo-Saxon Primer ninth edition, 1953, p. 104). One wonders if Stopford Brooke had ever read the translation, for his remark that it is an accurate translation in excellent English could hardly be further from the truth[14]. It is quite obvious that the Letter was never intended to be an accurate translation, if by that we are to understand a word for word adherence to the Latin. It is seldom literal for more than a few lines and is more often a free rendering with deliberate changes which show that, despite difficulties, the translator was closely engaged in his work and that he has left his own stamp upon it. He seems to have been responsible for the most striking alteration, the curtailment of the story after the trees have prophesied to Alexander (see the summary given above, p. 91). A long stretch of Latin is then dropped and the translation concludes with a paraphrase of the last paragraph of the Epistola. This transition is neither abrupt nor awkward. It is of course possible that this change was made already in his Latin copy, or later in the transmission of the translation, if we assume that it originally embraced the whole story. But such speculation is idle. A halt in the narrative after the prediction of Alexander's death would well have suited one who wished to condemn his pride, his pretensions, or his paganism. But the translator takes no such Orosian stance, and his whole treatment is without the slightest adverse remark. The prophecy is the true climax of the Epistola, which, however, rambles on to end without suspense or anticipation. The change in the translation is therefore probably artistic; the translator closed the story at the most fitting point.

The translator's modifications appear to spring from several motives which were probably mixed in his own mind. Where, so far as

we can tell, he departs from the Epistola the change may be attributed to simplification, greater emphasis, and explanation. His strokes are bold rather than careful, partly perhaps because he was not always sure of the exact sense of the Latin, and because he thought that both hard matter and trimmings would confuse his audience. It is not always easy to distinguish the factors which were dominant in any given passage, particularly as the translation is not literal, and as the great change from hypotactic to paratactic syntax, which confronted any Old English translator of Latin, caused trouble. The Epistola is aureate in diction but compact in meaning, with tight sentence patterns that do not lend themselves to an easy-flowing translation in natural English prose. As a rule, although the translator omits a good deal, he needs more words to say less, and his sentences are often choked with verbiage so that the sense is diffused and the pace slow. He tends, in Sisam's words, to drop 'a string of words round about the meaning', and falls back on the conjunctions ond and þæt till they are emptied of real significance. The overall effect is what I can only describe as 'jerkiness'. Some typical examples are :

a) 9/2 Quam ego vocato exercitu palam effudi, ne me bibente magis sitire miles inciperet, collaudansque Zephyri erga me benevolentiam dignis eum muneribus honoravi.

120r/11 Þa he þa þæt wæter me to brohte, swa ic ær sægde, þa het ic min weorod 7 ealle mine duguþe tosomne, 7 hit þa beforan heora ealra onsyne niðer ageat þy þæs ic drunce 7 þone minne þegn þyrste 7 minne here 7 ealne þe mid me wæs. Ond ic þa beforan him eallum herede Seferes dæde, þæs mines þegnes, 7 hine beforan hiora ealra onsione mid deorweorðum gyfum gegeafede for ðære dæde.

b) 12/2 ... ad oppidum pervenimus quod in medio amne in insula ex his arundinibus quas paulo ante descripsimus, erat aedificatum, paucosque Indorum seminudos notavimus homines, qui visis nobis continuo intra tectorum suorum culmina delituerunt.

121v/17 Þa cwoman we to sumre byrig ; seo burh wæs on midre þære ea in anum eglonde getimbred ; wæs seo burh mid þy hreode 7 treowcynne þe on þare ea ofre weox, 7 we ær biwriton 7 sægdon asett 7 geworht. Þa gesawon we in þære byrig 7 ongeaton mennisce

(read Indisce) men fea healf nacode eardigende; ða hie þa us gesawon hie selfe sona in heora husum deagollice hie miþan.

c) 21/8 Appropinquante luce nocticoraces venere aves vulturibus similes, corporum immanitate superabant, colore fulvo, rostro pedibusque nigris.

110v/4 Ða hit wæs toforan dæges þa cwoman þær þa fugelas nocticoraces hatton, wæron in wealhhafoces gelicnesse, wæron hie þa fugelas brunes hiowes, 7 him wæron þa nebb 7 þa clea ealle blace.

d) 1/13 .. non crediderim cuiquam esse tot prodigia, nisi subiecta meis oculis ipse prius cuncta ponderavissem.

107v/9 Ne gelyfde ic æniges monnes gesegenum swa fela wundorlicra þinga þæt hit swa beon mihte, ær ic hit self minum eagum ne gesawe. (For other awkward or redundant examples of þæt see, for example, 119r/10 and 14; 120v/2 & 4; 123r/8; 124v/6; 113r/4; 116v/6; 130r/6. It is normal after verbs of saying, wishing, commanding etc).

In the following analysis of the style I have tried to indicate the kinds of change and the range of effects without recording them exhaustively. Ideally a new edition of the Letter which prints the Epistola in parallel would be a great convenience to readers. Where there are unfamiliar proper names, or information which may be puzzling, the translator seldom fails to provide an appositional clue. He writes of unionibus 7 carbunculis þæm gimcynnum (109v/16), and pintreow (MS wintreow) 7 abies þæt treowcyn (120v/6), and explains scorpions and carastes as þæt wyrmcyn and þæt nædercyn (124r/10 & 15). Alexander goes to Patriacen þæt lond (118v/16) and on Caspiam þæt lond (118r/12), and other proper names are made transparent by the use of hatan, such as Seferus min þegn (120r/6) and mount Enesios (116v/12). A strange word like Macedonum is translated Greca herige (107v/6) and Eurus, the East wind becomes simply swiðe micel wind (115v/5).

Other additions are few. The unemphatic praise of the Greeks, quia in ea patientia perseveraverunt ut rex regum appeller (2/12) is rendered for þon on ieþum þingum hie me mid wæron 7 on þæm earfeðum

no fram bugon, ac hie on bære gebylde mid me a wunedon, bæt ic wæs nemned ealra kyninga kyning (108r/12). When Alexander recounts the destruction of his men by the hippopotami the translator adds that thus they all perished bæt ure nænig wiste hwær hiora æni cwom (122v/5). When Alexander plans to reconnoitre Porus' camp he takes off his military finery, sumpto habitu militari positoque meo cultu (24/6), which is heightened in the English, ða alede ic minne kynegyrylan 7 me mid uncuþe hrægle 7 mid lyberlice gerelan me gegerede (111v/15). At 126r/13-17 the Greeks see men and women dressed in animal skins, 7 nanes oðres brucon the translator adds.

Omissions vary from substantial passages down to isolated sentences and single words such as adverbs and adjectives. Apart from the large omission towards the end of the story, which I mentioned before, the most notable one is a prolix account of elephants (30/7 - 32/1) which should have come just before 114v/15. The difficult description of the crabs (18/11-19/3) is dropped before 125r/15, as is a passage on the gods Hercules and Liber before 113v/18, though the translator evidently had the passage before him (28/1-7) since he uses phrases from it. A moment of abstract reflection by Alexander (37/5) after he has been to the cave of Liber is cut out before 117r/7. For some other small but 'interesting adjustments' and a larger excerpt from the Letter, see Sisam, pp. 86-88.

A consistent element in the translation is word-pairing or doubling, that is, the construction of a two-member phrase such as is common in many Old English prose works. At its best this may serve to elucidate a particular nuance, at its worst it is a somewhat tiresome mannerism, resulting from unthinking habit. There are more than a hundred examples of doubling in the translation, and this, in such a comparatively short piece, is important; for the most part the translator is hidden in anonymity, but in adopting this trick of style to the point where it is almost excessive and mechanical, he appears to have been working in a tradition. We may infer that he had been taught that doubling was general, appropriate, and expected in translation from Latin books. At times his use of doubling is justified, since it gives emphasis (e.g. the first example in the list below.) As a rule, however, it is merely pleonistic, as in hie soð sægdon 7

noht lugen (117v/19). This is not typical, however, in its syntax; usually doubling consists of two nouns or verbs, often alliterative, linked by and. For example,

108r/5	gehyhte 7 gelyfe	2/7	spero
108r/8	wiscte 7 wolde	2/9	utinam
108v/3	cyþde 7 getacnode	3/1	significaveram
108v/14	we hine oforcwomon 7 oferswyðdon	3/6	Dario....superato
119r/2	wæfon 7 worhtan	7/5	detexunt
120r/4	geswencte 7 gewæcte	8/12	laborare
113r/20	forwyrcean 7 afyllon	27/2	complevi
108v/5	rynum 7 gesetenissum	3/2	constantia
119v/12	wundor 7 wæfersien	8/7	spectaculum
121v/11	lond 7 stowe	11/12	loca
125r/14	geswencnissa 7 earfeðo	18/11	patientia
125v/2	in þære sweartan niht 7 in þære þystran	19/8	caeca nocte.

These instances, about a ninth of the whole number, give some impression of the usage both with abstract and concrete meaning. I shall return to this feature later.

Alexander in England : the Origin of the Translation

Although some of the classical accounts of Alexander may have been known in England from a very early time, there is nothing to show that they were. After the Anglo-Saxon settlement and the conversion of the English, it is, however, reasonable to suppose that certain authors, whose writings were common throughout Christian Europe, would be known among the learned in England. Most obviously stories about Alexander were available in theological books, such as patristic exegisis of the prophetic visions in the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, the echoes of legend in Augustine's City of God and in Josephus' Jewish Wars, and the extensive polemics in Orosius' History. While it would be a misconception to think of the 'popularity' of Alexander at any time in the Old English period, there does exist from the late eighth century

onwards some tangible evidence of a more intimate interest in his life. Alcuin sent Charlemagne a copy of the Collatio cum Dindimo, one of several works which deal with Alexander's relations with the Indian philosophers. This much is known from Alcuin's verses to the Emperor, and it is confirmed by the influence of insular palaeography on later continental copies of the Collatio, as Traube discovered[15]. Then there are the lines in Widsith which refer to Alexander's wide dominion :

> Þara wæs Hwala hwile selast,
> ond Alexandreas ealra ricost
> monna cynnes, ond he mæst geþah
> þara þe ic ofer foldan gefrægan hæbbe.

(Krapp and Dobbie, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records III, 1936, p. 150). The passage is certainly an interpolation, though it has not been dated. At the end of the ninth century in the Old English Orosius, the translator softens Orosius' sharp pejorative presentation of Alexander, and adds details from other sources, including the story of how he was begotten by the sorcerer Nectanebus, (Sweet's edition, p. 126). A Latin prose text, the Parva recapitulatio[16] is found in five manuscripts of English origin, of which the oldest (B.M. Royal 13 A I) dates from the end of the eleventh century. It is believed that this minor Alexander tract, which is always found with a particularly collection of Alexander material, was composed in England, and it may have been written long before the earliest extant copy. An awareness of Alexander can therefore be shown to have existed in England from the eighth century through Alfred's reign and beyond. It is possible that I have overlooked further evidence which points to the same conclusion, but it can confidently be said that although the Letter is the only extended translation of a specific Alexander story, it is not otherwise an isolated curiosity. The Letter would have been of interest at any time during the two centuries before the Vitellius manuscript was copied.

It remains to be asked whether the language of the translation and any features of its style may enable one to assign it to a more precise time and place. For the phonology of the Letter there are two full

dissertations in German from sixty years ago, and Kenneth Sisam's discriminating account in the Studies where more recent investigations are brought to bear on the text. Sisam inevitably drew much upon one of his predecessors, Adolf Braun, whose dissertation of 1911, Lautlehre der angelsächischen Version der 'Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem' is a monument of patient classification. Sigmund Heschl's 'Beiträge zur Untersuchung der altenglischen Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem' (University of Graz, 1913) has remained unprinted and I take this opportunity of raising it from obscurity since its author worked quite independently of Braun. Heschl's conclusions highlight the difficulties of interpreting linguistic evidence and anticipate Sisam's own results regarding the origin of the text.

Braun's thorough study of the phonology of the letter led him to conclude that it is for the most part written in West Saxon of the kind which characterises Alfred's language. Yet the language is not pure, and contains many forms alien to this dialect. Some spellings (e.g. blissige f. 131r/20, siogorum f. 128r/20, æ as an i-umlaut of a before nasals) point to the South East, and more particularly to a Kentish area, and he thought it could scarcely be wrong to fix the 'Entstehungsort' by the Kentish borders ('an der kentischen Grenze'). 'Was die geringe Anzahl anglischer Formen betrifft, die sich in unserem Texte finden, so werden diese wohl von einem Schreiber herrühren, der auf anglischem Gebiete tätig war. An eine sächsische Umschrift eines älteren anglischen Originals ist bei der erdrückenden Mehrheit reiner westsächsischer Formen nicht leicht zu denken' (p. 5). This is too dogmatic an interpretation. If it be allowed that the woof and warp of the text is West Saxon, there are still other ways than Braun's of explaining the Kentish and Anglian forms. They may both be the result of transmission, or to invert his argument, the Anglian forms may be the evidence for an 'Entstehungsort', while the Kentish may be attributed to a scribe who influenced the transmission after the original translation had been made.

It is salutary to compare these remarks with those of Heschl two years later. Heschl did not know of Braun's thesis. The two were writing at a time when phonology had the highest status as an exact discipline, and they both used the classic studies such as those of Sievers and Bülbring, not to mention a score of other standard

philological studies. In his chapter 'Kriterien zur Bestimmung des Dialektes', pp. 157-176, Heschl makes a detailed examination of the linguistic forms, syntax and vocabulary. The Zusammenfassung on p. 176 is quoted here in its entirety as it is not readily available. I have taken the liberty of expanding its many contractions and suppressing cross-references to the main part of the work, as with them it makes rather hard reading.

> Die Epistola Alexandri, wie sie uns überliefert ist, zeigt im Wesentlichen den Charakter des Spätaltenglische, der besonders in den späteren westsächsischen Schreibungen ȳ statt ie͝, i͝ statt y͝ und in der umkehrten Schreibung ǣ statt ēa zum Ausdrucke kommt.
>
> Während die Epistola Alexandri der Hauptsache nach westsächsischen Gepräge trägt, haben sich ziemlich reichliche Spuren des anglischen (besonders nordhumbrischen) Dialektes erhalten, so zum Beispiel: i-Umlaut der Diphthonge zu e͝, Unterbleiben der Palataldiphthongierung, Ebnung. Auffällig ist, dass ein Charakteristikum des Anglischen, nichtsächsischen
> # ē für germanisches ǣ[1], bis auf eine einzige Ausnahme fehlt. ē als i-Umlaut von westgermanischen ai, io als a-Umlaut in der Verbindung -ig- sind wohl nur als Eindringlinge aufzufassen; diese Erscheinungen stellen sich ausserhalb des Anglischen. Formen, Syntax und Wortschatz tragen auch vielfach anglische Gepräge und Vergleichspunkte mit Beda [the Old English translation of Bede] dürften kaum in Westsächsisch heimisch sein.
>
> Nach alledem liegt die Vermutung wohl nahe, dass die vorliegende Fassung der Epistola Alexandri die mehr oder minder getreue Übertragung eines ursprünglich anglischen Originals in die Spätwestsächsische Literatursprache darstellt. Die tatsächlich vorhandenen anglischen Elemente lassen in Verbindung mit der Analogie zu so vielen altenglischen Werken diesen Schluss als berechtigt erscheinen.

With this claim for an Anglian origin of the text, we may compare Sisam's remarks in the Studies pp. 88-93. A great deal of material is presented in those pages which cannot be repeated here.

Notwithstanding his very proper caution in interpreting the linguistic evidence, Sisam adduces ample evidence of an Anglian, and more specifically of a Mercian original. He considers that the West Saxon features entered during the course of transmission 'not later than the first half of the tenth century' (p. 90). His attempts to determine the linguistic home for the Letter more precisely, are suggestive rather than positive. For, although 'negative indications suggest that the Letter is East rather than West Mercian' (p. 92), he is well aware of the acute limitations of our understanding of dialect geography, and of the difficulties of restricting what we call Anglian words to specific areas.

We have seen that doubling is an integral part of the translator's style. Where did he learn this device? A categorical answer cannot be supplied, as the origin and use of doubling remain matters of controversy, and the best general study of it is linguistic[17]. For our immediate purpose certain kinds of writing may be excluded, such as charters and laws in which doubling has a very specialised function. Some writers only use it occasionally, such as Ælfric. For the last seventy years it has been recognised that doubling is most marked in translations of Latin of Mercian origin, and that it therefore seems to be characteristic of Mercian tradition. The prime example is Bishop Werferth's Dialogues of Gregory, and it is no less noticeable in the Old English Bede, a work often compared in style with Werferth's. Professor Whitelock has reminded us that the Old English Bede has pervasive and distinctive Mercian features, which are not easily accounted for except by the supposition that Mercian sympathies went into its making[18].

It is not improbable - though it is not easy to prove - that doubling in other translations associated with the time and court of Alfred, reflects the influence of the King's Mercian helpers. We know four of these helpers by name, and, as Sir Frank Stenton has written, it can scarcely be 'accident' that these men came from Mercia. He thought it highly probable that they 'represented a tradition of learning which had descended to his [Alfred's] time without interruption from Mercian schools established in or before the eighth century' (Anglo-Saxon England ^{2}, 1947, p. 268). There

is therefore a prima facie case for supposing that the author of the Letter shared a Mercian literary schooling and, taken with the linguistic evidence, this confirms the likelihood that the Letter was not a West-Saxon translation, but most probably a Mercian one of the ninth century[19].

1. The translation ends on f. 131v with finit and the rest of the page is blank.

2. See F. Pfister, Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungen der Griechen, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen Berlin, 1956.

3. For one complaint see Bursians Jahresbericht CLXX, 1915, 214-215. Julio Berzuna's Tentative Classification of Books ..... concerning Alexander the Great and the Alexander Romances Durham, New Hampshire, 1939, is a meagre compilation based upon the author's own collection, from which he does not stray far. Nancy Burich's Alexander the Great : A Bibliography Kent State University Press 1970, regrettably excluded non-historical material.

4. See Cary, pp. 355-357, 'Recent Studies on Pseudo-Callisthenes'.

5. Viz. the Bactrian and Indian campaigns ending with the submission of Porus; the monuments of Hercules and Liber and the sun and moon trees; the journey to the ocean and to the land of the Ichthyophagi; the return to the main army and Porus.

6. See L. Pearson, 'The Diary and the Letters of Alexander the Great', Historia III, 1954-5, 429-455.

7. Zur Alexandersage. Alexanders Brief über die Wunder Indiens (Programm des Königlichen Friedrichs-Kollegiums, Königsberg, 1894, pp. 3-26).

8. 'A Check-List of MSS of Three Alexander Texts', Scriptorium X, 1956, 127-132.

9. A collation of Paris 7561 (ninth century) against Kübler's edition is given by P. van de Woestijne, 'A propos de l'Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem', L'Antiquité Classique VII, 1938, 67-76.

   The state of scholarship on the subject up to the War is treated by Pfister in L'Antiquité Classique VIII, 1939, 409-412.

10. Two quotations must represent the favourable reception given to the edition: 'there is every reason for satisfaction' (Mnemosyne 4th series, IX, 1956, 183); 'On ne saurait refuser son admiration à un savant qui s'est acquitté d'une tâche aussi laborieuse avec tant de zèle et tant de sagacité (Museum LX, 1955, 95).

11. H. Silvestre (Latomus XII, 1953, 330) has checked the edition against Brussels 5354-61 and found a high degree of accuracy. I have checked the first six pages of Walther Boer's text against Cotton Nero D VIII, and found that, aside from orthographic variants, he does include the variant readings in his apparatus. About a dozen variants are not recorded (e.g. p. 2 lines 14 where Nero has nunc for nisi, and 16 where it has scribebam and not scribam). It must be remembered that, extensive as the variants are, they are not intended to be complete.

12. Merkelbach, Griechischen Alexanderromans p. 152 'Doch scheint durch Kollationieren vielfache Kontamination stattgefunden zu haben, so dass die Aufstellung eines Stemma nicht gelingen kann'; A. Ernout, Revue de Philologie 3rd Series, XXVIII, 1954, 313 '..... ce classement, du reste, n'est pas immuable, et la préférence donée au premier groupe n'interdit pas d'examiner, et parfois d'admettre les leçons présentées par les trois autres .....'.

13. No doubt Baskervill's publication accounts for Wülker's omission of the Letter from the Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa. In the mid seventies he had intended to include it when he made the transcript which was later given to Baskervill.

14. English Literature from the Beginning to the Norman Conquest 1898, p. 293.

15. Traube is not very precise; he does not mention the date and origins of these manuscripts. The remark occurs in Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen III, 1920, p. 113: 'Im Briefwechsel Alexanders des Grossen, der aus England nach Frankreich kam, sind die Spuren des Ursprungs nicht nur in den Widmungsversen des Alcvin, sondern auch in einzelnen verlesenen englischen Buchstaben und Zeichen aufzufinden'.

16. See Cary, The Medieval Alexander p. 70. There is as yet no edition and discussion of the Parva recapitulatio, George Hamilton was apparently the first to recognise its English origin; see 'Quelques Notes sur l'Histoire de la Légende d'Alexandre le Grand en Angleterre au Moyen Age', in Mélanges de Philologie et d'Histoire offerts à M. Antoine Thomas Paris, 1927, pp. 195-202.

17. I. Koskenniemi, Repetitive Word Pairs in Old and Early Middle English Prose Turku, 1968.

18. D. Whitelock, The Old English Bede (Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, Proceedings of the British Academy XLVIII, 1962, 57-90.)

19. Cf. Sisam, p. 88. 'The spirit of the translation, like its style, accords well with the period of King Alfred's wars'.

CHAPTER FIVE : THE PROSE TEXTS AND OLD ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY

The Wonders and Alexander's Letter are a rich store of rare and strange words, since they deal with recondite and exotic subjects. The following lists have been made by sifting the vocabulary of the texts, using the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of Bosworth and Toller, and the Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of Clark Hall in the fourth edition (1960) with its Supplement by Herbert Meritt. Almost all the words for which there is no entry in Bosworth and Toller's Dictionary have been collected by Clark Hall (e.g. laurisc = 'of laurel') and by Meritt (e.g. healfhundisc = 'semi-canine'). Except where a word deserves a fuller biography my concern has not been with etymology ,but with the correct form of the words and their frequency. The Wonders in Tiberius B V has been taken into account. Names of persons and places ,which are common in Wonders and Alexander's Letter have been excluded, since they are taken directly from the Latin sources ,and seem more properly to belong to a full study of Old English onomastics and toponymics. Table 1 contains corrections to the dictionaries mentioned and to Rypins' Glossary. Words which are not recorded in other Old English writings are given in Table 2, and Table 3 comprises rare words which may have been used for the first time in English in these prose texts.

BT = all the material in two volumes of Bosworth and Toller, unless this is distinguished as BTS, that is the second volume by Toller alone. CH = Clark Hall's Dictionary , and M = Meritt's Supplement to it. W= Wonders , L = Alexander's Letter. Other abbreviations should be self-explanatory.

Table 1 Corrections to BT, CH and Rypins.

Note that the headword is not always that which should appear in a dictionary.

1) Leones = 'a league' or 'leagues' ; passim W . Delete in Rypins and CH . This spelling in Vitellius is plainly a mistake, doubtless originating in the confusion of n and u, for leoues* ; cf. leowe in BT and CH . Tiberius has consistently leuua, the form adopted in BTS. The etymology is unclear, but is ultimately Celtic.

The remainder are isolated instances, which I take up in alphabetical order.

2) Cannon = 'reeds', 'cane'; f.113v/19 , L .So CH. According to BTS cannon seems to represent Latin coenum, 'mud','dirt', which is the reading of Walther Boer's Group I manuscripts. But the commoner variant canna is plainly the source for the form and meaning of the English.

3) Eclypsis = 'eclipse'; f.127v/13, L. So spelt as in CH ; BTS inherits Cockayne's misreading exlypsis.

4) Gistliþian = 'to be hospitable' ; f.106r/12 gæstliþende men , W. The infinitive is inferred in BTS and CH (the latter under giestliðian) from the adjective in W. Tiberius is corrupt and reads eastliðende. The infinitive in -ian is based on a misreading of the spelling in Vitellius,and the verb, not attested elsewhere, should be gæstliþan. A silent correction is implied in M , gæstliðend 'hospitable'.

5) Glengista = ? ; f.107r/20, L. No adequate explanation is given by Rypins ; CH 'meaning doubtful'. The passage is corrupt (cf. the textual notes in Chapter Four here) and this is almost certainly a ghost-word. In the Additions and Corrections at the end of BTS , Toller appears to accept the need for emendation as proposed by Bradley, in place of his earlier explanation in BTS.

6) Hiwnes = 'hue','colour','appearance','beauty','fairness'; f.105v/13-14 on marmorstanes hiwnesse, W. This is a ghost-word which should be expunged from BTS, CH and Rypins. Tiberius has the correct reading hwitnesse from quasi marmore candido in Mirabilia.

7) Hon = 'tendrils of a vine'; f.109v/12, L. A ghost-word which should be removed from Rypins,as it has been removed from BT in BTS , and from CH in M. See the textual notes in Chapter Four.

8) Hunticge = 'huntress'; f.105r/19-20 hundic-gean, W . Rypins enters this as hundicgea, and refers to a note which is not in the book. The emended form hunticge is accepted in BTS and in CH (where the reference is incorrect). The passage is corrupt in Vitellius, and I think the scribe had little notion of the sense of what he wrote. Both the manuscript and emended forms should be rejected; the Tiberius reading huntigystran = venatrices in Mirabilia 27 offers the acceptable form huntigystre, of which

the second element is the feminine agent suffix -estre.

9) Instyrian ='to move','to stir'; f.127v/16 instyred wæron , L. The infinitive should be removed from BTS and the participle from Rypins. CH and M have neither, and the manuscript should be emended to onstyred.

10) Lafor = 'leopard' ; f.125v/3 laforas...cwoman , L. This ghost-word should be removed from Rypins and CH. BT rightly supposes that the correct reading is eoforas 'boars', cf.Epistola p.19/9. At f.123r/12 pardus 7 wulfas renders pardis ac lyncibus (p.15/3-4), and there can be little doubt that the translator's word for 'leopard' was pardus.

11) Lawernbeam = 'laurel' ; f.103v/2 þa beoð lawernbeabe , W. The scribe saw one mistake, and carelessly underdotted the first b instead of the second for correction. No correction was made. The emended form,lawernbeam, should be removed from Rypins and CH , for the n is quite unetymological. The first element lawer is simply a variant of laur- ;cf. Tiberius laurbeame.

12) Ofacennan ='to generate' ; f.106v/14, W. Only M has this verb, which I do not accept. Of may be used in an absolute sense, or even be an error at this place in Vitellius. See edition Section 32.

13) Onhongian = 'to hang','be suspended' ; f.126v/13 on hongedon , L. It may be doubted whether such a verb should have been admitted to Rypins' Glossary,and it is not in the dictionaries. On seems to be absolute, and independent of hangian.

14) Onsittan = 'to mount an animal'; f.100v/15 hy sylfe onsittað, W . The phrase here is not represented in Mirabilia Section 10. But it is legitimate to extend the usual sense of onsittan ,'to occupy', 'to seat oneself in', and the extended meaning should be added to BT and CH. Cf. BTS, onsittend ='one who sits on an animal,a rider'.

15) Palther = 'panther'; f.126r/15-16 palthe-ra , L. Remove from Rypins,BTS, CH, and substitute panther. The spelling in the text is indefensible, even though it has been adopted without comment by Holthausen, Altenglisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch Heidelberg,1934. The intrusive l is not justified by etymology nor phonology. Note manuscript th instead of þ or ð .

16) Tohuntian ='to hunt'; f.105v/7 hy to huntiaþ, W. Remove from Rypins and CH ; the verb is not in BT. This occurs in the same passage as (8) above,all of which is muddled in Vitellius. To may be a stray preposition, and the well attested infinitive gehuntian is preferable to the very doubtful tohuntian. Tiberius reads þæt hi gehuntigaƌ.

17) Wifgehrine = 'contact with woman','intimacy with woman' ; f.127r/2-3 wigf-gehrine, L. The f is scarcely visible. Malone thinks g is a spelling device for marking the vowel long, but it can be better explained as as the result of anticipation. The meaning is in no doubt, since Epistola reads, 'Si a coitu' inquit 'puerili et femineo contactu vacas..!(p.42/3). Rypins has wifgehrine, which should be added to CH and restored to BT. It is rejected in BTS due to a misreading of the manuscript.

Table 2 These words are peculiar to this manuscript, though a very few are found elsewhere in Old English with different meanings,e.g. acæglod = 'locked with a key' (see M) and landbuend m/f ='inhabitant','settler'. The words have been reduced to their uninflected forms, but the spelling is not normalised.

A) Names of creatures:

Wonders

Catinos,f.106r/5-6 (Tiberius Catini) and f. 106r/11.
Conopenas, f.100r/12.
Corsias, f.99v/15.
Donestre,f.103v/12.
Homodubii, ff.100v/2 , 103r/3.
Hostes, f.102r/9.
Lertices, f.102r/15.

Alexander's Letter

Carastis, f.124r/15.
Ictifafanos, f.115r/6.
Nocticoraces, f.110v/5-6.

B) Common nouns,etc.

abies (?) = 'silver fir tree'; f.120v/6, L.
acæglod (pp of acæglian* ?) = 'studded with pegs', 'serrated' ; f.114r/2, L .

æwisc = 'shameless','foul','indecent'; f.106r/2, W.

anægled (pp. ?) = 'nailed down'; f.109v/6, L.

cannon (pl.?) = 'reeds','cane'; f.113v/19, L.

cristallisc = 'of crystal'; f.118r/6, L.

ealfara (m) = 'a pack horse'; f.121r/7-8, L.

eastþeod (f.) = 'an eastern people'; f.108v/17, L.

eclypsis (?) = 'eclipse'; f.127v/13, L.

feohbigenga (m)= 'cattle-keeper'; f.112v/2, L.

feþerfotnieten (m.) = 'a four-footed animal'; f.110r/20, L.

forfeallan = 'to overwhelm','destroy by falling'; f.116r/4, L.

freawlitig = 'very beautiful'; f.106r/6-7, W.

frihtere (m.) ='soothsayer','diviner'; f.103v/14-15, W.
Vitellius frif-teras , Tiberius frihteras.

gæstliþend = 'hospitable'; f.106r/12, W .

gehære = 'hairy' ; f.115r/3, L. (But compare BTS where the suggested simplex is gehær.

gen = 'short','direct' (of a road); f.118v/10, L.

geteþed = 'toothed','provided with teeth'; f.114r/7, L.

gimmisc = 'adorned with gems'; f.118r/6, L.

glæsgegot (?) = 'molten glass','sheet glass'; f.104v/9-10, W.

godmægen (n.) = 'divine power'; ff.117r/2 and 127v/17, L.

godwebwyrhta (m.) = 'weaver of purple cloth'; f.118v/18, L.

gryto (f.) = 'greatness in size'; f.120v/7, L.

heahcleofa (m.)= 'principal chamber'; f.109v/15, L.

healfhunding (m.) = 'cynocephalus' ; f.100/11, W and f.115r/13-14, L.

healfhundisc = 'semi-canine','with the characteristics of the cynocephali' ; Wanley's incipit to the lost Life of Saint Christopher in Otho B X.

horned = 'having horns'; f.124r/15, L.

hreogan = 'to become stormy'(of weather); f.115v/19, L.

hringwise = 'in rings' (of colours); f.110r/14, L.

huntigystre (f.) = 'a huntress'; from Tiberius B V - see Table 1,number 8.

landbuend (f.) = 'colony','settlement'; f.98v/1, W.

londbunis (f.) = 'colony','settlement'; ff.98v/12 and 101r/16, W.

longsceaft ='having a long shaft'; ff.110r/10 and 124v/4, L.

menniscnes (f.) = 'humaneness','human qualities'; f.106v/10, W.
milgetæl (n.) = 'a mile' ; f.98v/4-5 etc.,eleven instances, W
neahdun (f.) = 'neighbouring hill'; f.124v/17, L.
neahea (f.) = 'neighbouring river'; f.115r/7, L.
neahwæter (n.) = 'a nearby stretch of water'; f.115v/2, L.
oferhleoþrian = 'to exceedthe time allowed for speaking'; f.130v/15, L .
onsittan = 'to mount','to seat oneself on an animal' ; f.100v/15, W.
orene = 'harmful','injurious'; f.116v/2, L.
pardus (pl.?) = 'leopards'; f.123r/12, L.
rying (f.) = 'roaring','grunting' ; f.114v/12, L. See Holthausen, Wörterbuch, s.v.
stanhol (n.) ='a cave'; ff.115r/11-12 and 118v/4, L.
tigrisc = 'of a tiger' ; f.126r/16, L.
twimen (m.pl.) = 'homodubii','creatures doubtfully human'; f.100v/3, W.
þurhborian = 'to bore through' ; f.113r/17, L.
underbregdan = 'to spread under' ; f.104r/8, W .
unforswyþed = 'unconquered' ; f.108r/11, L.
unretu (f.) = 'disquiet','anxiety' ; f.129v/9-10, L.
widu (f.) = 'width' ; Tiberius f.83r/1-2 ,heora wide is. Vitellius f.103r/18 widnes .
wifgehrine = 'intimacy with woman' ; see Table 1,number 17.

Table 3

By virtue of their single occurrence with the particular meanings ascribed to them, the words in Table 2 are evidently 'firsts' in Old English. It is, of course, inherently improbable that most of them were neologisms at the time when the three translations were made, yet they remain the sole witnesses. It is possible to add to them a number of other words which are not unique in the same way, but which may fairly be supposed to occur for the first time, or among the earliest times, in English. In compiling the following list I have been obliged to make an arbitrary decision about dating, lest many of the citations should be proved by further work on Old English

vocabulary ,to be unwarranted. It has been assumed that Wonders and Alexander's Letter existed in substantially their present form in the early years of the tenth century ; see the conclusion to this thesis. Many words in these two translations are found also in the prose of the Alfredian Revival, and these are not recorded . Attention has been paid to English works which certainly or probably belong to the tenth century, and which are usually thought to be products of the monastic reforms then. Besides the dictionaries the most comprehensive treatment of such material is Otto Funke's Die Gelehrten Lateinischen Lehn- und Fremdwörter in der Altenglischen Literatur von der Mitte des X. Jahrhunderts bis um das Jahr 1066 Halle, 1914. The examples are not classified here by their degree of naturalisation in Old English, as Funke has done.

Agustus (m.) = 'August'; f.118v/11 in agustes monþe, L, cf. Herbarium, Leechdoms,Menologium.

balzamum (n) = 'balsam','balm' ; ff.126v/2 , 127r/15 and 17, 130r/4, L . The form is the same regardless of case. Cf. Leechdoms, Wright's Vocabularies.

carte (f.) = 'document','letter'; f.108v/9, L , cf. Leechdoms, Gospel of Nicodemus, Prose Guthlac, Ælfric.

columna (-ne ? f. ?) = 'column' ; f.109v/2 and 10, L , cf. Prose Salomon and Saturn.

cristalla (m.) ='crystal' ; f.109v/13 and 14, L , cf. Ælfric, Psalms, Prudentius Glosses.

cypressus (Latin) = 'cypress'; f.109v/20, L, cf. Leechdoms.

fenix (m.) ='the phoenix'; Tiberius only f.86v/6, W , cf. Ælfric, The Phoenix.

grifus (Latin) = 'the griffon'; Tiberius only f.86v/2, W, cf. Poetical Salomon and Saturn.

Iulius (Latin) = 'July' ; f.109r/2, L, cf. The Death of Edgar (A.D. 975) in the Chronicle.

laurbeam (m.) = 'laurel'; see Table 1,number 11. Cf.Ælfric, Wright's Vocabularies.

leoues (?), leuua = 'leagues' ; see Table 1,number 1. Cf. Ælfric's Glossary ,leouue = miliarium.

Maius (Latin) = 'May' ; f.108v/12, L, cf. Byrthferth's Manual and Laws of Cnut.

panther (m. ?) = ' panther' ; see Table 1, number 15.
Cf. the poem The Panther in the Exeter Book.

scorpiones (Latin) = 'scorpions'; f.124r/10, L , cf. Herbarium and the glosses to the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels . See J. van Zandt Cortelyou, Die altenglischen Namen der Insekten,etc. (Anglistische Forschungen XIX) Heidelberg 1906,p.98.

tiger (m.) = 'tiger'; f.105r/20, W, and f. 123r/12, L, cf. Ælfric.

tor(r) (m.) = 'tower'; f.109r/17 þa torras , L , cf. Durham Ritual and see the discussion by Funke,p.167.

unio (Latin) = ' a large pearl'; f.109v/16, L , cf. Gloss to Aldhelm's De laude virginitatis.

General Remarks on the Diction .

The large number of words from Latin in the Tables is predictable in view of the curious lore described in Wonders and the Letter. They are, of course, the products of a written and 'bookish' culture, and much of their vocabulary is redolent of the lamp. Some words seem to have had no linguistic life outside these texts and many of them can hardly have passed into the spoken language. One who undertook to read the translations with a high degree of comprehension would have to have a broad education which touched on the more abstruse phenomena of fable and pseudo-science. Unless his reading in Latin were fairly wide he must have paused over such words as nocticoraces (f.110v/5), and have been glad of the information that these birds have the appearance of hawks.

Both spelling and formation show that some of the words were naturalised, while others may be regarded as nonce words which probably struck an Anglo-Saxon reader as odd. Doubtless the translators found them necessary to supply a want in the native vocabulary, but one can only guess at their precise motives, and at the response of their audience. Inevitably there remains a residue of words which defy analysis; the adjective cristallisc used of a drinking vessel looks well established to me, but according to Robert Garrett it ' shows the dexterity of the author in naturalizing words' (Precious Stones in Old English Literature Leipzig,1909, p. 86). There is no trace

of French influence on the diction, as is only to be expected since not more than four or five French loan-words came into English before the Norman Conquest, (see R. Mettig, 'Die Franzosischen Elemente im Alt- und Mittelenglischen', Englische Studien XLI, 1910, 177 - 252, pp.187f.). Most of the Germanic words are common to West Germanic as a whole. Four words at least which appear to be unique in Old English, have cognates in Old High German according to BT (gimmisc, gryto, stanhol, þurhborian, cf. gimmisc, grozi, steinhol, durhporon), and longsceaft and gen are closely linked to the Old Norse langskeptr and gegn. These probably developed in the three languages from a common stock, though it is not unlikely that the Old High German cognates were originally brought into that language through missionary activity from England. I do not suppose that in the forms lǫngsceaft and gen there is any indication of the linguistic effects of the Danish settlement in England, but the possibility cannot wholly be discounted.

Undoubtedly the most interesting single word is ealfara (f. 121r/7-8 eal - farena, gen. pl.) There can be no question that it represents sumedum in the Epistola (p. 10 variant readings) = Late Latin sumerius and sagmarius ' a pack horse', 'Lastpferde'. This meaning is now generally accepted on the basis of Richard Jordan's discussion in Die altenglischen Saugetiernamen (Anglistische Forschungen XII) Heidelberg, 1903, pp. 126-128. Jordan's etymology for ealfara is surprising. He traces it through Old French auferan and Spanish alfaras ' leichtes Pferd der maurischen Reiterei', to an Arabic word imported into Spain. Weighty authority has been given to this derivation, for example by Napier and Sisam, although I remain sceptical, and would prefer, as Toller originally did (BTS) to see a compund of the Germanic roots eall and faru. Jordan's explanation that the translator deliberately chose a rare word - one so rare that it now exists nowhere else in Old English - 'um das Interesse an seinem merkwurdigen Gegenstand zu erhohen', is unacceptable. There is nothing intrinsically interesting in the catalogue of impedimenta in which the word appears, and it would hardly have been used unless it were generally understood.

Until Jordan's proposed etymology is rejected,however, the implications of *ealfara* can no longer be overlooked. The Arab invasions of Spain began in the early eighth century, and for this word to have passed into Spanish,French, and then English a good while must have elapsed. On the other hand *ealfara* should not be taken as evidence for a late date for the translation. Military and trading words do spread quickly, and the only other word of Arabic origin in Old English, that is *mancus* ' a gold coin ',regularly appears in charters from 799 onwards (see M.S. Serjeantson, *A History of Foreign Words in English* 1935, p. 213). *Ealfara* could therefore have appeared in English by the ninth century.

From the Tables given in this chapter it is clear that a great many words in the prose texts, especially in *Wonders* and the *Letter*, occur seldom if at all in other Old English writings, and then only in prose later than the Alfredian revival. But it would be wrong to draw any conclusions about dating from this. The true development of the language may not be mirrored accurately in our dictionaries, and the chances are that it is not. Besides, so much Old English prose is left to us only in comparatively late manuscripts that it is a nice affair to establish a proper chronology for much of it, and a conservative literary language is eroded, but not corrected, by scribal improvements and more or less conscious changes which only make comparative study the more difficult. It is true that the landmarks are clearer in prose than in poetry, and that fairly precise dates can be attached to important works and important writers whose names are known. Nevertheless the three prose texts should be classed with a considerable body of literature, to which it is not proper to assign a date on the evidence of its diction.

CHAPTER SIX : THEORIES CONCERNING THE COMPILATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT, AND CONCLUSION

It is time to return to the Beowulf Manuscript as a whole, regarded as a sequence of works, whatever their individual literary and textual history may have been. It is unquestionable that for at least four centuries the manuscript has been imperfect, and in Chapter One I have argued that there is a possibility that part of Christopher and part of Judith are not the only writings it has lost. Whether such other writings, if they existed, were in prose or verse, and whether, like two of the extant items, they were related to the contents of Tiberius B V and Otho B X, it is vain to conjecture. In the past twenty years, however, on the evidence of the five remaining works, a number of theories have been advanced regarding the intention that the collection in Vitellius represents. These will now be briefly assessed, with a theory of ~~the~~ Professor Robert Reynolds.

At the present time a promising avenue of inquiry in medieval studies is what may be called 'codicology', that is, the study of manuscripts as thoughtfully-fashioned books, not merely random rag-bags of unrelated works. It is not common to find that a medieval vernacular manuscript comprises one work alone. It is far more likely to be a miscellany of old and new writings, even if few manuscripts contain so many items as, say, the Exeter Book or the Middle English Harley 2253. The interpretation of the principles behind the selection and arrangement of the material in a manuscript was largely fostered in medieval English studies by the late Karl Brunner[1], and it has been applied by him and others to the Beowulf Manuscript. Their results are by no means consonant, but that is not to say they are negligible.

The first major theory is Sisam's. In 1934, in a review of the Exeter Book he wrote that 'the Beowulf codex, even allowing for Judith, is a collection in verse and prose of marvellous stories, with a strong secular bent'. This view is developed in the Chapter 'The Compilation of the Beowulf Manuscript' in the Studies of 1953, and Sisam concludes that 'it is the plain everyday work of a good period, well suited for reading in a monastic library or cloister. And if a cataloguer of those days had to describe it briefly he might well have called it "Liber de diversis monstris, anglice" ' (p. 96). Sisam

refrains from bringing Judith into the general design; this item was added, he infers, 'because there was no more convenient place for it, or because Judith was felt to be, like Beowulf, a saviour of her country, at a time when England needed such inspiration in the struggle with the Danish invaders' (p. 67).

Christopher does not fit the theory satisfactorily either. Insofar as it does, it is because of his dog's head, and yet this is only an incidental feature, not one of primary importance. The saint had originally been given this freakish attribute when his genus, that of the Canaanites, became confused with the canine species, and hence with the Cynocephali. Thus in the long-winded Carolingian Metrical Passio we read (MGH Poetae Aevi Carolini IV, 1923, 809)

Hic de Cynocephalorum oriundus genere.

Ratramnus of Corbie (d. 868?) in a celebrated reply to Rimbert, who had asked his opinion, gives an avuncular doctrinal account of the cynocephali; they have an ordered society and can reason. 'Huic intelligentiae non parum suffragari videtur libellus de martyrio sancto Cristophori editus. Quemadmodum autem in eo legitur, hoc de genere hominum fuisse cogniscitur, cujus vita atque martyrium claris admodum virtutibus commendatur'. (MGH Epistolae Carolini IV, 1927, 155-157). He returns to Christopher later after writing of giants: 'Quibus Cenocephali dum connumerantur, hoc etiam et de istis sentiendum esse putatur, maxime si illa constiterint quae de Sancto Cristophoro leguntur, vel quae fama de eis vulgaris dispergit'. It is unlikely that Ratramnus was thinking of a thriving cult; his words are typical of an erudite scholar disdainful of the curiosities with which lesser men trouble themselves. We may infer that the more knowledgeable theologians paid little attention to Christopher's dog's head[2]. There is no 'monster appeal' in the Latin Vita, nor did the English translator elaborate on this aspect, so far as we can tell. It is true that Christopher's dog-head astonishes the woman as she goes to pray to her idols, and that Dagnus addresses Christopher as 'fera mala', þu wyrresta wildeor (f. 95r/5). But one forgets while reading either the Latin or the English that Christopher is an oddity, and all the potential grotesqueness which could have been worked into the story is left undeveloped. Christopher is the story of a martyred saint who happened to have a dog's head; it is not the story of a monster.

Brunner's theory was intended in some measure to supplant Sisam's. His opinion is that the design was primarily religious. In 'Why was Beowulf Preserved?', Etudes Anglaises, VII, 1954, 1-5, he points out that the legend of Christopher is that of a Christian hero, that Beowulf 'has a decided Christian bent' (p. 3) and that if the champion 'was considered to be a Christian hero monastic scribes found no objection against the inclusion of an epic on him in a book devoted to such' (p. 4). Judith is an Old Testament heroine, but 'in line with heroes of Christian legends', and 'if we consider the Beowulf Codex one primarily devoted to Christian heroes Judith fits well into it'. Unfortunately the argument breaks down on Wonders and Alexander's Letter which are too hastily sped over as 'the two translations from Latin on monsters and marvels in strange and far away countries', in which there was widespread interest in the Middle Ages. The view is no more acceptable in the form in which we find it four years later. This is to the effect that the plan was 'Geschichten von Helden zu bringen, deren Taten vom christlichen Standpunkt lobenswert erschienen, denen man die beiden Übersetzungen aus dem hellenistischen Alexanderroman hinzugefügte, weil solche Wundergeschichten in allerlei Legenden auch aufgenommen wurden'.[3] Wonders and the Letter, which together fill more than a quarter of the manuscript, cannot be dismissed so lightly.

The most recent contribution is 'The Compilation of Cotton Vitellius A XV', by Paul Taylor and Peter Salus (Neuphilologische Mitteilungen LXIX, 1968, 199-204). It is a carelessly written and badly researched article[4], which puts forward two hypotheses. The first concerns the binding together of the Beowulf Manuscript and the twelfth century Southwick Codex, which contains Alfred's translation of the Soliloquies of St. Augustine (imperfect), the Gospel of Nicodemus (imperfect), the prose Salomon and Saturn, and the opening lines of the Life of Saint Quintin (f. 93v. the rest of this is lost). Taylor and Sallus write of the manuscripts, 'there may well have been a subject-matter association between them in the mind of the binder, or in the mind of the Cotton librarian who ordered the binding', since the contents of the Southwick Codex are religious, and those of the Beowulf Manuscript 'at cursory examination' were thought to be so too, on the evidence of Christopher at the beginning and Judith at the end.

'It is possible that a subject-matter correspondence' was assumed between the fragment of Saint Quintin and Christopher, which faced each other in the composite volume. Yet Taylor and Salus themselves add this footnote :

> The weakness of this hypothesis rests in the scanty knowledge we have of the binders' reading habits working under Cotton's orders, or under the orders of one of the Cotton librarians. It is doubtful that the binder himself either knew Old English or worked without explicit instruction. It is also doubtful that the Cotton librarian could read Old English enough to know exactly what the MSS contained (p. 200).

It is true that we know nothing of Cotton's binders. But we do know that Richard James, Cotton's librarian, had a fair knowledge of Old English[5]. At the beginning of Vitellius A XV he wrote a table of contents. It is not quite accurate. The Wonders and Alexander's Letter are combined as 'Defloratio siue translatio Epistolarum Alexandri ad Aristotelem cum picturis prodigiosorum', and a space was left for Beowulf though no title was ever entered. What is to the point is that James noted neither Quintin nor Christopher, which were overlooked also by Smith in his catalogue of 1696[6]. So much for the supposed recognition of Quintin and Christopher in the seventeenth century.

The second proposition concerns Judith which Sisam had excluded from his general theory because 'Holofernes was no monster' (Studies p. 67). Taylor and Salus, however, think it may be brought into this design, since, although there are no marvels in the extant fragment of the poem, the first chapter of the Vulgate text, upon which the poem was based, contains a description of 'the wonders of the city of Ecbatana (mod. Hamadan) as built by Arphaxad, and an account of his subsequent disastrous war against Nebuchadnezzar - two more "wonders of the East" (p. 203). In its complete state Judith may well have had this material, but there is no evidence that the poet 'concentrated' on the description of Ecbatana. This is a notion taken by the writers from two late medieval German versions of Judith which devote eighteen and forty lines respectively to this subject. They prove nothing

about the Old English poem. In the Vulgate the description of the city and the war occupy only the opening verses of the Book of Judith, or about one seventieth of the whole apocryphon.

The late R. L. Reynolds of Wisconsin saw a more specific connexion between some of the contents of the manuscript. He did not live to present his completed study - which would no doubt have proved a stimulus to controversy - but an outline of his argument appeared as a 'Note on"Beowulf's"Date and Economic-Social History', in Studi in Onore di Armando Sapori Milan, 1957, pp. 175-178. Reynolds believed in a direct connexion between the illustrations of the Mirabilia and the monsters in Beowulf, and he saw this as having chronological implications. Having pointed to Sisam's date of the late ninth century for the vernacular Wonders, he observes,

> This is interesting, because it is perfectly obvious that Grendel in Beowulf is drawn directly, formed as to body and characteristic behavior, from the description of the monster called Hostis in the Mirabilia, and visually presented with that description in two surviving copies of the Mirabilia. The Draca of the second part of Beowulf is reasonably close to the Draco described in words, and depicted too, on the back of the same folio, or face to face with 'Grendel' or a page away in each instance. To be sure, the Letter of Premo [sic] also covers both monsters in parallel language, but it lacks the impact given the Mirabilia Hostis and Draco by the ink-line and color pictures, and in any case seems to have been itself derived from the Mirabilia.
>
> Neither the fashioner of the Old English Mirabilia text nor the author of Beowulf could (or, perhaps, desired) to turn the word Draco into Old English proper; it was transferred basically unchanged (as draca); in both cases into the native tonge. The pictures show snakes or 'worms', not winged modern dragons with wings and claws.
>
> However, while the timid translator who fashioned the Old English Mirabilia stuck also here to the Latin name for the man-eating giant, Hostis, the Beowulf author, drawing in poetic words the

> picture of Grendel does translate Hostis to Old English, calling the monster Feond, the precise equivalent of Hostis (and the dragon is a wyrm in several sentences). This rather indicates that Beowulf was more modern in authorship than the Old English texts in the Mirabilia, but it is not a conclusive indication.
>
> pp. 176-7.

In a footnote Reynolds suggests that the Beowulf poet was eclectic in his use of Mirabilia, and hence from other passages he borrowed the notion of Grendel's light-generating eyes, of fire-breathing, and of a gold hoard. 'It is clear' he writes, 'the Beowulf author thumbed through his Mirabilia' (p. 177 note 9). His inference concerning chronology is that 'since it is clear that the Mirabilia preceded the poem, it is either necessary to hold that the Mirabilia was available, pictures and all, in the 700's or even the 600's (which will be very hard to prove) or that the Beowulf poem was composed after the Danish invasions, sometime late in the 800's or, better, at any time in the 900's (which no one has yet attempted to prove)'.

I have quoted Reynolds at length, partly because his argument carries important implications for Old English literature as a whole, and partly because it is somewhat confusing since he does not distinguish carefully the Latin Mirabilia from the Old English Wonders. For example he has recognised the elementary objection that the Beowulf poet might have used Premonis (with the implication that he read Latin) and yet the final statement that Beowulf may have been composed after the Danish invasions sometime late in the 800's etc. implies that he could only have used the vernacular translation, which Sisam dates about that time. Allowing the freeest interpretation of his case, it must finally rest on the postulated dependence of Beowulf on an illustrated version of the Mirabilia-Wonders. Section 14 describes the Hostes as huge men with thighs and legs twelve feet long, and a trunk seven feet long; they are black; whomsoever they catch they eat. All that Grendel shares with this creature is his huge size and propensity for eating men, and he is not otherwise 'formed as to body and characteristic behavior' from the Hostes. He is, of course, never fully described in the poem. We know he has a powerful grip, a great arm with hands and fingers, and hair. But it is not clear that his shape could be described as human. Most of us, I think,

envisage Grendel as an inhabitant of The Lost World, and Reynolds is right to remind us that he need not be a monster in that narrow sense. Yet neither need he be one of the Hostes; he lives in a mere and stalks the moors, whither he was condemned as one of the race of Cain, and the words applied to him and to his mother suggest that he belongs with the spirits of the underworld. The connexion between Grendel and the Hostes is in no way distinctive.

Nor do the illustrations strengthen Reynolds' case as much as he believes. In Tiberius the picture is of a giant with a shaggy head, who grasps a helpless man; he is on the point of biting into his throat (f. 81v). But in Vitellius there is only a rather fat nude shown in front view doing nothing (f.102r)[7]. It is possible that the picture had deteriorated in transmission, for no poet could be inspired by this.

Reynolds' deductions about the use of feond and draca are curious. Both are common West Germanic words, the latter an early borrowing from Latin. The notion that neither the translator of Mirabilia nor the author of Beowulf could turn draca into 'Old English proper', is misleading, since the word would be quite familiar, just as wyrm (the 'proper' word?) was. The relationship between Hostis (in Mirabilia we have only the plural Hostes) and feond admits a simple explanation. Feond derives from a root meaning hater, and its primary sense in Old English is 'enemy', in a general sense. It is so used in Beowulf e.g. lines 294, 903. The word was given an extended meaning, no doubt soon after the introduction of Christianity, to cover spiritual enemies, in particular the devil and his ministers, and with this nuance it is indeed often applied to Grendel. He belongs by birth and nature to the forces of evil, and the poet tells us plainly that he is a spirit of Hell and God's enemy. Feond is a perfectly acceptable word to use of Grendel in this quasi-theological sense, whence the modern meaning of fiend derives. The Beowulf poet had no need to translate hostis into feond as Reynolds argues. It is a poet of a very strange mentality who tries to extend the meaning of the old word feond to embrace a concept in the Mirabilia, which would be unknown to anyone who had not read that book. The word could be so extended, if the audience were made aware of what the poet was trying to do, but of course they are

not. The translator of the Mirabilia carried Hostes into English, not because he was 'timid' but because he saw it as a technical proper name. We must conclude that Reynolds' theory does not carry conviction.

The search for unifying themes which relate the individual works in one manuscript to each other, requires common sense and moderation, for if one's criteria are vague or unduly complex there is almost nothing which the codicological method cannot accommodate. As far as Vitellius is concerned, it is noteworthy that all the interpretations of this kind are based on the interpretation of Beowulf[8]. Of the various theories advanced, Sisam's seems to me to carry more weight than the others, despite its limitations. I have no alternative to offer. Although Sisam's argument evoked little response from the reviewers of the Studies, it has since been upheld, for example, by Wrenn (Study of Old English Literature 1967, p. 254) and more warmly by Malone (Nowell Codex, p. 119). What facts can we bring to bear?

In Vitellius are two poems and three prose translations of Latin writings. There can be no doubt that each piece was composed or translated a good while before the making of Vitellius (c. 1000) and that they are of diverse origins. Studies of the poems in recent years have considerably revised the older estimates of their original times of composition. No one now ascribes Judith to Caedmon or Cynewulf, and the consensus of opinion would put its author in the tenth century, though it is still an open question whether he was writing early or later in the century[9]. Beowulf keeps its secret well. It is doubtful whether anyone would now ascribe the poem to the end of the ninth century, as Schücking did, or firmly to the seventh, but the acceptable options for dating are still wide, as is shown by Professor Whitelock's argument that a late eighth century date is just as likely as one in the age of Bede. Any or all of the Latin works on which the prose texts are based could have been England from the eighth century, and if Mirabilia is an Anglo-Latin composition which influenced the Liber Monstrorum (see Appendix B) the conclusion that it is early, i.e. about 700 becomes inescapable. In theory, then, the translations could have been made at any time between about 750 and 950. Both dating and provenance have been obscured by the process of transmission, and, of course, there is nothing to show that the three

translations were undertaken at the same time and in the same place. On the contrary, it is inconceivable that they were, since one must then assume that from the first they were transmitted en bloc. The linguistic and scribal divergence between each of them quite precludes this.

The Letter and Beowulf seem to have had a common transmission for a while, since genitive plurals in o are confined in this manuscript to the Letter and to the same scribe's part of Beowulf. But other linguistic evidence (see Sisam, p. 94) indicates that they cannot have shared this transmission before the middle of the tenth century, and the association between them appears to be only casual. There is no strong link in the subject matter. Neither Judith nor Christopher shows any sign of transmission with each other nor with the other three pieces. Christopher, moreover, has distinct peculiarities of its own, the spellings mitty be and cyningc: the evidence indicates that it was translated by one used to a West Saxon patois in the period 900 - 950, and in view of the sparseness of corruption I am inclined to opt for the second quarter of the century.

It is tempting to look for shared transmission in the Letter and Wonders; the subject matter is similar, it has been suggested that the other versions in the paradoxographic tradition were originally a part of the Alexander letter cycle[10], and, perhaps most important, the Old French version of Wonders is preceded in the Brussels manuscript by a French translation of the Epistola. In short, were the Latin models of the Letter and Wonders together in one manuscript? It need not be supposed that they had one translator, for this to be possible. To judge from Vitellius, however, their transmission has been separate. The Letter preserves hie, in = 'in' and short o before nasals, while in the Wonders there is no example of hie, only a few of in and of short o before nasals. The pattern is the same in the text of Wonders in Tiberius B V. Unless we assume that there existed a manuscript in Latin where the two were contiguous, that translations were made and followed different lines of transmission until they were in a sense reunited in Vitellius, this hypothesis cannot carry conviction, attractive though it may be.

The Wonders, the Letter and Beowulf all have forms which belong to an Anglian dialect. They may be Mercian, although only the Letter is fairly certainly so. I do not believe that either the Wonders or the Letter can be closely dated. A time in the ninth century is the most acceptable. It was admittedly a period of political unrest, yet such conditions do not automatically preclude bookish activity. When Alfred descants on the decline of learning in the Preface to the Pastoral Care, he does say that although Latin scholarship had decayed there were yet many who could read things written in English. Such English books need not of necessity have been religious.

If my argument in Chapter One is accepted, there remains the possibility that the Vitellius manuscript once contained writings now lost. Such writings, if they existed, and if they had survived, might have revealed more to us about the transmission of the five works remaining, and about the character of the whole volume. Certainly any theory about a single principle of compilation is rather forced, even if that possibility is discounted, while, if it be accepted, it must greatly weaken all such theories.

1. See, for example, his articles on Middle English manuscripts in Anglia LXV, 1941, 81-86, and LXXVI, 1958, 64-73, and in The Baugh Festschrift, 1961, pp. 219-227.

2. In the east, where the dog-head was an accepted feature of iconography, and where Christopher was popular before he was in the west, the following sober account appeared in the late tenth century Menology : 'Some marvellous and miraculous relations concerning this saint are current in some quarters; as that he was a dog-headed man-eater, until he was metamorphosed at his conversion. This is not the fact, only some supposed him such because he was a heathen wild and grim '. (Smith and Wace, Dictionary of Christian Biography s.v. Christopher). In the mid eleventh century Peter Damian gave a sermon nominally about Christopher; it has little to do with him at all, and makes nothing of his being physically extraordinary; see Migne, P.L. CXLIV, 680-687.

3. 'Die Überlieferung der alt= und mittelenglischen Literaturwerke', Anzeiger der Osterreichischen Akad. d. Wissens. Phil-hist. Klasse XCV, 1958, 129-140, p. 133.

4. The most unpardonable slip is the comment (p. 201 note 1) on Sisam's description of the manuscript as a 'liber de diversis monstris'; 'He undoubtedly derives the title from the Latin model of the Old English miraculous text in Cotton Tiberius B V: 'Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus'.' This is Mirabilia, not the Liber Monstrorum.

5. Richard James' transcripts of Old English manuscripts, and his own word-lists are preserved in the Bodleian. See D.N.B. for a sketch of his career.

6. James' Table and Smith and Wanley's descriptions of the contents are conveniently printed by Förster, Die Beowulf-Handschrift pp. 67-72.

7. James (Marvels p. 55) takes this figure as an illustration of the preceding paragraph, but it does not fit, for then it should have a lion's head and a wide mouth. The words immediately beside the picture concern the Hostes. James thinks the Hostes have been put in the next picture with the Lertices, where we find two 'absurd' men talking across the sheep-like creature. But they are not giants, in fact they look like nothing so much as comical old men. Since one of them leans on a crook, I take him to be a kind of shepherd. But if James were right, it would make Reynolds' argument still more implausible.

8. Sisam's theory may be seen as an expression of the concern for the monsters of Beowulf, which has characterised many studies since Tolkien's lecture of 1936.

9. Dobbie, Beowulf and Judith p. lxiv assigns the poem to the 'middle or late' century, and Timmer, Judith 1961, pp. 5, 8-10, to c. 930.

10. Pfister in his review of Fermes writes, 'dass es ursprünglich ein Alexanderbrief war, wird jeder Kenner dieser Literatur glauben', Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift XXXIV, 1914, columns 925-928. But Hadrian is a perfectly acceptable candidate. He was famous in his own day and afterwards for his travels, and his love of learning, especially the esoteric kind. Tertullian calls him 'curiositatum omnium explorator' (Apologeticum V), and Julian the Apostate mocked his 'prying into hidden things'. Pharasmanes (i.e. Fermes, Premonis, Perimenis) visited him in Rome.

APPENDIX A : CORRECTIONS TO RYPINS' "THREE OLD ENGLISH PROSE TEXTS".

Rypins' diplomatic edition is very accurate, but it has a few errors which are corrected here. I make no comment on the state of the burnt margins of the manuscript nor on the legibility of letters in it, since Rypins and Malone have all but exhausted the subject. The finer points of punctuation, periods, accents, and so forth are likewise not discussed. Malone usually draws attention to differences between Rypins and himself, yet I do not always agree with him, and sometimes I agree with neither of them, about what may be seen in the manuscript and what is conjectural. There is room for legitimate doubt and disagreement, and I doubt whether two people will ever see, or imagine that they see, exactly the same traces of stops, accents, or letters. Except where the following list contradicts the assumption, it is to be assumed that where Malone proposes a reading different from Rypins, I prefer to follow Rypins, or am unable to tell from my own examination of the manuscript which of them is right. Since Rypins has printed the texts in reverse order, and the foliation in the Letter is still muddled, references to the page numbers of Rypins' edition are given in parenthesis after the folio number to facilitate comparison.

Christopher	Rypins	Vitellius
94r/1 (68)	þ⌐u	þu e⌐art
/ 7	g⌐e	-
/ 13	þæm cynig⌐e	þæm cyninge
97r/11 (74)	lare 're written as a ligature'.	No ligature
97v/19 (75)	noht	naht
98r/12 (76)	of	on (cf. Wanley)

Wonders		Rypins	Vitellius
99v/1	(53)	đeor	deor
102r/20	(58)	bixon	byxon::
103r/10	(60)	el reord ge m̄	elreord ge m̄
103v/20	(61)	..tuþra	:cuþra
104r/17	(62)	hrædlece	hrædlice
105v/15	(65)	hi	hy
106r/11	(66)	beo	beođ
106v/1	(67)	lyfiđ	lyfađ
/9-10		wun-driende	wun-drende

Alexander's Letter

107r/6	(1)	siđfat⌊a	siđfato (cf. Wanley)
/20		þeoh	þeah
107v/1	(2)	naniges	næniges
108r/13	(3)	fram	from
109r/1	(5)	læton	lætan
/20		metdon	in eodon
109v/1	(6)	þar	þær
/20		fægere	fægere 7
110r/19	(23)	:::: heora	7 in heora
111v/14	(26)	wicstowe	wicstowa
113r/18	(29)	þe	þa
113v/19	(30)	hread	hreod ?
/20		w⌊æter⌋u	weoxan
114r/20	(31)	noman 7	noman
114v/12	(32)	ryṅig	rying
118r/2	(7)	đar	đær
120v/6	(12)	wintreow	pintreow
121r/3	(13)	ungemet-	ungemete-
/20		in	iu
122r/20	(15)	mera	nicra
123r/15	(17)	đæges	dæges
126r/1	(39)	7 mec	7 mec :: (þa ?)
126v/1	(40)	wæron	wæran

		Rypins	Vitellius
128r/5	(43)	ondswarege ondwyrdum	ond swa re ge ond wyrdum
130r/2	(47)	wæd	pæd
/7		bylifigeað	þy lifigeað
131r/1	(49)	þy	þy

APPENDIX B : THE LIBER MONSTRORUM

The Liber Monstrorum, which was referred to briefly in Chapter Three, is familiar to Old English scholars principally for its reference to Hygelac, the king of the Geats who appears in Beowulf. This connexion was first pointed out by Haupt, ZfDA V, 1845, 10. The Liber is also clearly related in many passages to an early version of the Mirabilia, which its author used as a source. Yet despite its obvious importance there is no adequate account of the Liber Monstrorum in English, and I propose, without attempting an exhaustive investigation, to summarise the present state of our knowledge. Besides the editions of Berger de Xivrey (1836), Haupt (1863 and 1872), and Robert (1893), the only important studies of the work are these :

1. Max Manitius, Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters I, Munich, 1911, 114-118.

2. Antoine Thomas, 'Un Manuscrit inutilisé du Liber Monstrorum' AIMA I, 1924, 232-245.

3. Suzanne Backx, 'De Monstris, Belluis et Serpentibus Liber : Texte, Traduction et Commentaire'. Unpublished dissertation of the Faculte de Philosophie et Lettres, University of Brussels, 1938.

I have been unable to find any report of the following unpublished thesis, listed in L. F. McNamee's Dissertations in English and American Literature First Supplement 1969 : Douglas R. Butturff, 'The Monsters and the Scholars. An Edition and Critical Study of the Liber Monstrorum', University of Illinois, 1968. A new edition based on the four extant manuscripts is greatly to be desired, for Haupt's is based only on two and he regularises the readings so much that one often has to burrow among the notes to find the true manuscript reading. Haupt, unlike Berger de Xivrey, was a careful scholar, nonetheless, and in a letter to Mommsen he once said that he gave his 'best powers' to such academic programms.

Of the four manuscripts only A (Wolfenbüttel 148, 'qui olim fuit monasterii Wizenburgensis') has the complete contents, a list of chapter headings, a preamble, and three books, each shorter than the last, on monstrous men, beasts and serpents. In all there are more than a hundred chapters, of only a few lines each. The arrangement of material within the individual books seems to be random, both in regard to logical design and to the sources, and Suzanne Backx believed that 'ce bouleversement' was the result of serious disorder. Her reshaped scheme for the chapters (Commentaire pp. 2-14) will need to be considered when a fresh edition is published, and when the fourth manuscript in the British Museum is taken into account. In particular readings the general superiority of B is apparent, although both A and C, sometimes have more acceptable readings. I call the British Museum manuscript D.

In the preamble the anonymous author addresses some eminent personage who has commissioned the work. It is plain that the author was a cleric, with access to a good library, and Manitius has advanced the theory that his patron was a bishop. He may, of course, have been an influential layman with literary tastes, though this seems less likely. The author's modesty formula in introducing his work is not inappropriate - even if he had his tongue in his cheek - for the Liber Monstrorum is hard reading. Although written in prose, it is interlarded with poetical diction (especially Virgilian words) and biblical echoes, with abstruse and polysyllabic verbiage, all wound together in unnatural syntax. The style has been described as 'prétentieux' and 'ampoulé' (Berger de Xivrey, p. xxxiii), 'fort banal' and typical of a compiler 'de bas étage' (Backx, pp. 27-29). All this is true, but by no means so important as the author's extensive search for materials, and his knowledge of rather recondite sources. It is perhaps not surprising that he borrows largely from Augustine, from the Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem, and from Lucan on the serpents. But other writers, whose work was not generally known in the early Middle Ages, like Marcellinus Comes (fl. 500) or Quintus Curtius, are strange sources. Did the writer use their works directly, or did he have access only to extracts from them in other compilations? The issue has not been settled satisfactorily, and is complicated by the supposition that for some parts of his work he relied on compilations which have not survived.

There is a danger, which has not always been avoided, of concocting circular arguments when the Liber Monstrorum is linked with Beowulf and with Mirabilia. The problems of its date and place of origin are best considered, at least initially, without reference to these two works. The four extant manuscripts are all of the tenth century, and the original must have been much earlier, at least a century earlier, if the wide divergence between them is attributed to gradual transmission and corruption. Among the writer's sources was Isidore of Seville; one must leave out of the count the many places in which both Isidore and the author may have used a common source. Yet, as Backx has pointed out both in her dissertation and in a note in Latomus III, 1939, 61, the two both garble the name of the serpent, the Ophita, and, since it is incredible that Isidore should have used the Liber Monstrorum, it must be assumed that the borrowing was the other way. On this evidence one would place the date of composition between c.630 and c.830. There have been several attempts to define a more exact period on the basis of the supposed cultural climate and level of learning. Inevitably such attempts tend to become confused with assumptions about the provenance of the text. Haupt, who assumes that the work was Frankish, states cautiously that he does not see how it could have been written after the scholastic reforms of Alcuin; i.e. about 790; Manitius (p. 720) assigns it to 'c.700', and adds that 'Stil und Orthographie erheben sich übrigens über die Mehrzahl der Werke aus der Merovingzeit' (p. 115).

Manitius' belief in a Frankish origin contrasts oddly with his statement that its author seems not to have been Frankish (p. 115) and with his note on the two manuscripts of the Liber Monstrorum known from medieval catalogues to have been at Bobbio, He writes, 'Diese Doppelüberlieferung in Bobbio konnte auch für irischen Ursprung sprechen.' (p. 118, note 1). From this Antoine Thomas was led to make a close examination of manuscript C, and he has shown beyond doubt that errors in that manuscript and in A derive from a misunderstanding of the insular contraction for autem. There is nothing similar in B. Thomas concludes from the reference to Hygelac, that the author was Irish or Anglo-Saxon 'familier avec le milieu anglo-saxon dans lequel a été composé, vraisemblablement au VII^{e} siècle, le poème de Beowulf' (pp. 244-245). Suzanne Backx accepts the theory and builds upon it.

The identification of Beowulf's uncle, Hygelac, with the historical king slain in a raid of c.521, is the only firm historical fact in Beowulf, and it was recognised by Grundtvig as long ago as 1820. The raid is mentioned four times in the poem and the composite story accords with what Gregory of Tours, writing about 580, tells of the fate of Chlochilaichus, 'King of the Danes'. Hygelac is not the leader of the Danes in the poem, but this discrepancy on Gregory's part is no great difficulty (cf. Klaeber's Beowulf p. xli), and there can be no doubt that the same man and the same incident are described. Hygelac is mentioned in other Frankish chronicles besides Gregory's Historia Francorum, but they are later and not independent. The only other reference is in the Liber Monstrorum I, 3 : Haupt, p. 223 :

> Et fiunt monstra mirae magnitudinis, ut rex Hugilaicus, qui imperavit Getis et a Francis occisus est, quem equus a duodecimo aetatis anno portare non potuit. cuius ossa in Rheni fluminis insula, ubi in Oceanum prorumpit, reservata sunt et de longinco venientibus pro miraculo ostenduntur.

Hugilaicus is one of Haupt's emendations. In the manuscripts he is called in the chapter headings where the form is ablative, Huncglaco (A), Huiglauco (B), Hyglaco (C), Glaucus (D), and in the text proper Huncglacus (A), Huiglaucus (B) and (D), Higlacus (C).

This legend of a Hygelac so big that no horse could bear him, and of the preservation of his bones on an island of the Rhine, where they are an object of wonder, are proof enough that the writer was familiar with the lore of the Rhine estuary as it developed from the sixth century. I should guess that his source was oral; certainly no written record has survived save his own. Moreover the legend is independent of what is said of Hygelac in Beowulf and in the Frankish chroniclers, which would very probably have included at least some hint of it, if the legend had been very widely known. There is indeed no evidence that the three accounts of Hygelac are dependent upon each other in any way. The only sure inference is that Gregory, and the authors of the Liber Monstrorum and Beowulf, knew stories connecting Hygelac with the Rhine, and that is no evidence for localising the Liber Monstrorum.

Both Thomas and Suzanne Backx have concluded that, insofar as such problems admit of a solution, the author of the Liber Monstrorum was an Englishman writing about 700 in England. Research in the past forty years on the relatings of England and the continent from the seventh century onwards, their intercourse in trade, church-life, and diplomacy, support this theory, and do much to remove the objection that an English writer would be isolated from local stories across the sea. Cautious and qualified acceptance - but acceptance all the same - has been shown by Professor Whitelock (The Audience of Beowulf 1951, pp. 46-49) and by Sisam (Studies pp. 288-290; see also The Structure of Beowulf 1965, p. 6). I am unconvinced because it seems to me that we have become too anxious to fix the Liber Monstrorum in England, and are in danger of forgetting that the evidence that it was composed in Frankish territory is as good, even somewhat better. The four manuscripts are all continental, two of them have been influenced by insular orthography and two missing manuscripts were at Bobbio, famous for its Anglo-Irish connexions. Yet it will surely not be maintained that the only manuscripts copied at or owned by Bobbio were brought straight from England, and that continental scribes who had been taught an insular hand did not exist on the Continent. Indeed, one expects the insular tradition to be strongest at places like Bobbio, long after their foundation, while, after missionary activity from England and Ireland from the end of the seventh century, it is only to be expected that many continental houses would have had scribes who had learnt an insular hand. Even Thomas admits that 'le fait d'avoir été copié par des scribes irlandais ou anglo-saxons ne suffit pas, bien entendu, à établir que le Liber Monstrorum ait pour auteur un Irlandais ou un Anglo-Saxon' (p. 244). That is only an assumption, he says; what makes it almost a certainty ('presque une certitude') for him is the appearance of Hygelac in this work and in Beowulf. His dating of the Liber Monstrorum at the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth is based on the illogical supposition that it must be nearly contemporaneous with Beowulf, and in the twenties when Thomas was writing it was almost dogma that Beowulf had been written about 700.

Arguments which rely on the eminence of English scholarship in the time of Hadrian, Aldhelm and Bede, and the supposed poverty of continental scholarship before Charlemagne, are inevitably circular.

If the Liber Monstrorum is early it must be English, if late it could be continental, and so forth. In any event the fundamental premise is false, for one cannot pontificate about the relationship between life and letters at any such early period. Suzanne Backx opted, after quite justified hesitation, for an Anglo-Saxon author solely because she thought that the requisite cultural ethos was available only in England. Elsewhere she is more circumspect; she concedes that an eighth-century date is possible, and that the author may have been an expatriate Anglo-Saxon living in a continental monastery. She concludes (p. 38), 'L' hypothèse irlandaise ou anglo-saxonne était loin d'être démontrée, et on voit que l'option pour la seconde est encore de beaucoup moins solide. Mais à partir de données aussi ténues et douteuses nous ne pouvions escompter de solution plus sûre.'

A Frankish origin for the Liber Monstrorum is quite in harmony with the contental origin of the 'Ur' Mirabilia postulated in Chapter Three here. It is, moreover, of little importance whether we place the Liber Monstrorum in the seventh century or the eighth, since it draws on an early state of the Mirabilia and not Mirabilia on it, (see Chapter Three). The Liber Monstrorum contains twenty-one chapters which correspond with some in the Mirabilia, sometimes in the same words but usually not. They have been printed from Berger de Xivrey's edition by James in Marvels of the East, and references to these and to Haupt's edition are cited in Faral's article of 1914, pp. 357-364.

The materials in the paradoxographic tradition were particularly susceptible to borrowing. Much that is in the Mirabilia, the Liber Monstrorum and the other versions discussed in Chapter Three reappears in later elaborations of the Alexander story and in the works of late medieval encyclopaedia writers. Repetition became so widespread and eclecticism so common that the task of reconstructing the branches of the whole tradition has barely been begun. It is a study fraught with difficulties - conflation, intermediate sources, hypothetical recensions, and so on. Nevertheless the unremitting investigation into the Alexander legends and their congeners, has produced a few facts and some theories which ought to be known by students of the Mirabilia and the Liber Monstrorum. The best guide to these are Cary's The Medieval Alexander (1956) and Ross' Alexander Historiatus (1963).

It is necessary, however, to go behind their obiter dicta to see what the true position is.

In the middle of the tenth century the Archpresbyter Leo of Naples translated, from the δ * redaction of the Greek Pseudo-Callisthenes, a Latin account which fathered a huge progeny in Europe during the next four centuries. The translation does not survive in its original form, and has been most influential in three major recensions, known collectively as the Historia de Preliis. The recension I^i, the parent of the other two, was already in existence early in the twelfth century for it was used by Alberic of Besancon about 1110. The text is available only in an unsatisfactory edition appended by Oswald Zingerle to Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf vom Ems (Germanistische Abhandlungen, IV, 1885). Although the redactor of I^i was using Leo's book, he made many interpolations from Josephus, Jerome, Orosius, the Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem and other Alexander texts. Pfister detects another supplementary source in 'eine dem Liber monstrorum verwandte Quelle' (Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo Heidelberg, 1913, p. 15). Two years earlier Hilka had published a 'Liber de monstruosis hominibus Orientis aus Thomas von Cantimpré : De natura rerum' (Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Universität Breslau Breslau, 1911, pp. 153-165). Thomas of Cambrai was an author of the mid thirteenth century who worked for more than fifteen years on the De natura rerum. It is the third part of this which Hilka printed, with parallels from many works including the Mirabilia (Cockayne's edition), the Liber Monstrorum (Haupt's edition) and Gervase of Tilbury's Otia. In a series of reviews and excursuses - of which I mention only the more important - Pfister set out to clarify the transmission of this material. In the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift XXXII, 1912, columns 1129-33, he stressed the connexion of part of Thomas' work with the Liber Monstrorum and the references to a certain Adelinus who was a source for Thomas. 'Dieser Adelinus ist entweder zugleich Quelle des Liber oder geht mit diesem auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zuruck.' And who is Adelinus? Without hesitation Pfister accepts Hilka's explanation that he is Aldhelm of Malmesbury. This, it cannot be said too emphatically, is mere assertion; it has never been proved. The publication of Fermes by Omont in 1913 was dealt with by Pfister in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift XXXIV, 1914, columns 925-928. Fermes and the I^i recension of the Historia De Preliis are here

given a common source, the mystifying 'X' which had already been postulated as the source for Adelinus and the Liber Monstrorum. Pfister, who has long been the Nestor of Alexander scholars did not shift his position when he came to review Rypins' book in 'Auf den Spuren Alexanders des Grossen in der älteren englischen Literatur' Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift XVI, 1928, 81 and 86, and he was referring without reservation to these early studies of his as late as 1959.

At this point I call a halt. The precise elucidation of these multifarious, and at times incestuous, relationships must be left to others. Without a reliable edition of the Liber Monstrorum or the Historia De Preliis, without any clear notion what precisely is a source for what (the Epistola, it must be remarked, is said to be a source for all the various versions) it has not been possible to bring them into order. As for the supposed association of Aldhelm with the Liber Monstrorum and the Mirabilia, it may encourage those who think these two works were products of Anglo-Latin culture to seek further. But at present the localisation of the Liber Monstrorum must remain an open question.

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Current research in Old English studies includes two projects which should be of the greatest value to the student of the Three Prose Texts. According to Professor F.C. Robinson's record of such undertakings Donald T. Davidson is engaged upon a translation of these wokks into modern English for submission to the University of Ottawa. Professor Helmut Gneuss of Munich kindly informed me that for the past four years Dr. Klaus Grinda has been preparing,for his Habilitationsschrift at Gottingen, a new edition of the three works with an investigation into their language and sources. I have been unable to learn anything of this from Dr. Grinda.

The Bibliography is divided into four parts, of which the first comprises the manuscript, and the others material on Christopher, The Wonders (and associated works), and Alexander's Letter. The arrangement within the sections is chronological, except in that purely secondary and illustrative material follows the major studies.

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